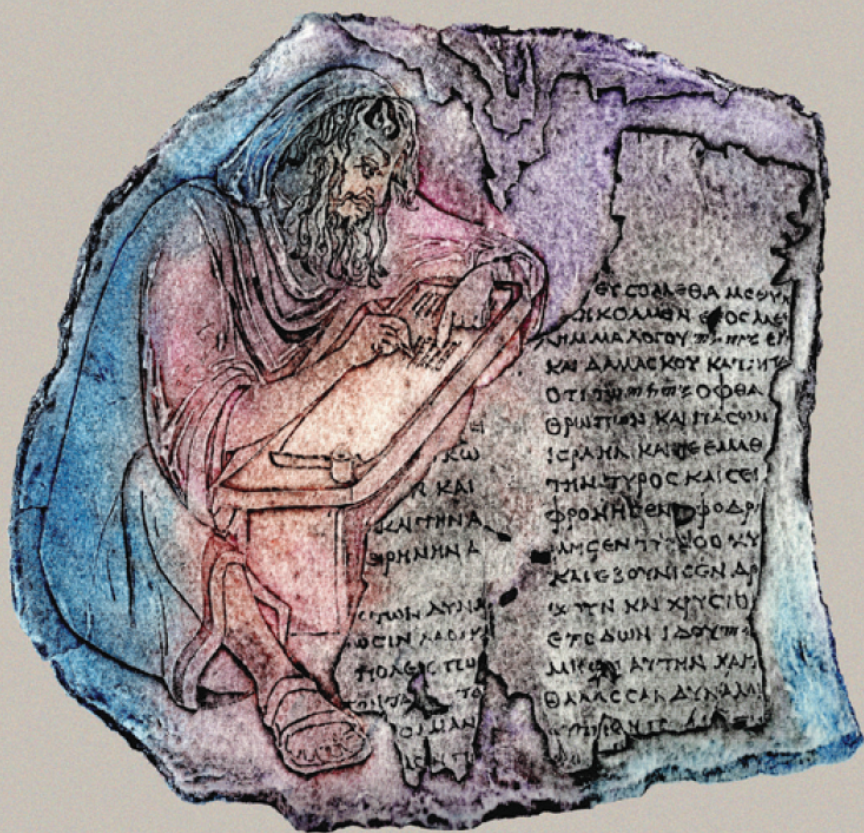


# The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research

COMPLETELY REVISED AND EXPANDED THIRD EDITION



Emanuel Tov

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*The Text-Critical Use of the  
Septuagint  
in Biblical Research*

Third Edition,  
Completely Revised and Expanded

Emanuel Tov

Winona Lake, Indiana  
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*Dedicated to the memory of Prof. I. L. Seeligmann ז"ל  
from whom I learned to read and appreciate the Septuagint*



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## *Preface*

This handbook on the Septuagint (LXX) provides a practical guide for the student and scholar alike for the perusal of that translation in the text-critical analysis of the Hebrew Bible. It does not serve as another theoretical introduction to the LXX, of which there are several (see p. 1), but it provides all the practical background information needed for the integration of the LXX in biblical studies. The LXX, together with the Masoretic Text and several Qumran scrolls, remains the most significant source of information for the study of ancient Scripture, but this translation is written in Greek and many technical details need to be taken into consideration when using this tool. Therefore, a practical handbook such as the present one will aid the integration of the Greek translation into the study of the Hebrew Bible.

Eighteen years have passed since the publication of the second edition of this handbook (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), a long enough period to warrant a new edition since many developments have taken place not only in the research of the LXX, but also in textual criticism in general, in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in the computerized approach to all these areas. As this is a handbook used in university classrooms and by autodidacts, the author has a responsibility to adapt the contents to these new views, to update the bibliography, and not in the least, to adapt the book to his developing views.

The quote that starts the first edition (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981) very appropriately summarizes the nature of the undertaking: “There is no right way of digging, but there are many wrong ways” (Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth* [London, 1954], 15). *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* presents much background information, but its main mission is to present a method or methods for the text-critical use of the LXX, and as much as I try to be objective, I realize that my description is personal, that my method is based on intuition and experience, and above all, that there is no right way of digging, but many wrong ways. Like archaeologists, we textual critics are involved in digging, unearthing data, and suggesting ways of cataloging and analyzing them, but we realize that the data can also be presented differently.

The attentive reader will notice that the major differences between this and the previous editions are (1) the theoretical descriptions in chapter 1

have been expanded, shortened, or adapted to my present views; (2) electronic aids (“electronic tools”) to the study of the LXX are provided in the first paragraph of several chapters, while new sections on this subject have been added in chapters 1.H and 3.B and excursus 2; (3) the examples have been streamlined, expanded, and accompanied by more English translations; (4) the sections on the Qumran scrolls and the Samaritan Pentateuch have been completely rewritten; and (5) several sections have been considerably shortened and references to the relevant analyses in my handbook *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed., revised and expanded; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012) replace the earlier content throughout the book and especially in chapters 6–8.

The English translations of the examples from the LXX are either my own or follow the *NETS* translation. The translations of Hebrew Scripture usually follow the *JPS* translation or the *NRSV*. For all three sources, see the bibliography.

The first two editions of this handbook were published by the Simor publishing house of Jerusalem (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3 and 8, 1981 and 1997). The publishers of Simor, Ora Lipschitz and the late Simcha Friedman ל"י produced these editions with great care. Ora Lipschitz kindly agreed to transfer the publication rights of the third edition to Eisenbrauns. Eisenbrauns has been involved in the marketing of the first two editions and now offer their own publication incorporated in this third edition.

It is a pleasant duty to express my gratitude to those who helped me prepare the present edition. Eisenbrauns kindly suggested in 2014 that I publish the present edition since the previous two editions had been out of print for a considerable period. Without that suggestion this book would not have seen the light of day. Dr. Andrew Knapp of Eisenbrauns skillfully transformed the old computer files to a more modern format and all along he guided me in preparing the present edition and made several suggestions for improving its content. I am very grateful to his professional and pleasant help. My son Ariel skillfully read the proofs.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my teacher Prof. I. L. Seeligmann ל"י from whom I learned to read and appreciate the Septuagint. His philological insights together with the experience gained in the Hebrew University Bible Project and in the CATSS project, are at the base of my own methods.

Jerusalem, April 2015

## *Editions of Textual Sources*

LXX	The individual volumes in the Göttingen Septuagint series, when extant; otherwise the text of LXX is quoted from the edition of Rahlfs–Hanhart, <i>Septuaginta</i> .
LXX <sup>MS(S)</sup>	The individual volumes in the Göttingen Septuagint series, when extant; otherwise the text of the manuscript(s) is quoted from the editions of the Cambridge series.
LXX*	The “original” text of the LXX reconstructed in the Göttingen editions or in Rahlfs, <i>Septuaginta</i> as opposed to later revisions correcting the translation towards the proto-Masoretic text.
LXX <sup>Luc</sup>	The Lucianic tradition (mainly MSS b,o,c <sub>2</sub> ,e <sub>2</sub> according to the sigla used in the Cambridge Septuagint) of the LXX, quoted according to the Göttingen and Cambridge editions.
MT	<i>BHS, BHQ</i>
MT <sup>MS(S)</sup>	Individual manuscript(s) of MT quoted according to the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi (see Bibliographical Abbreviations below).
S	The Leiden edition of the Peshitta, when extant: <i>The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version</i> (Leiden, 1966–). Otherwise the edition of Lee (London, 1823) is quoted.
Sam. Pent.	A. Tal–M. Florentin, <i>The Pentateuch. The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version</i> (Tel Aviv, 2010)
T <sup>F</sup>	M.L. Klein, <i>The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch according to their Extant Sources</i> , vols. I–II (AnBib 76; Rome, 1980).
T <sup>J</sup>	D. Rieder, <i>Pseudo-Jonathan: Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch Copied from the London MS</i> (Jerusalem, 1974).
T <sup>N</sup>	A. Díez Macho, <i>Neophyti I</i> , vols. I–V (Madrid/Barcelona, 1968–78).
T <sup>O</sup>	A. Sperber, <i>The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts</i> , vols. I–IVa (Leiden, 1959–68).
V	R. Weber, <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem</i> (2nd ed.; Stuttgart, 1975).

# Abbreviations

## *Periodicals, Reference Works and Serials*

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATAbh	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBLAK	Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BIOSCS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
<i>BJPES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BK	Biblischer Kommentar
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CATSS	Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies
CB	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConB	Coniectanea biblica
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
DB	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i>

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<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i>
<i>ÉBib</i>	<i>Études bibliques</i>
<i>EncBib</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i> (Heb.)
<i>EncBrit</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>FRLANT</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i>
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
<i>HAT</i>	<i>Handbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>HSM</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
<i>HSS</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Studies</i>
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>ICC</i>	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<i>IDB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>IDBSup</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IOMS</i>	<i>The International Organization for Masoretic Studies</i>
<i>IOSCS</i>	<i>International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
<i>JANESCU</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBR</i>	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JJSt</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNESt</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JQRSup</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review Supplement</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament—Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSt</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JThSt</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAT</i>	<i>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</i> (Leipzig, 1913–; Gütersloh, 1962–)

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KEH	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Leipzig, 1838–)
KHAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament (Freiburg/Tübingen, 1897–1903)
MGWJ	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NCB	New Century Bible
NKZ	<i>Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>
NTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMasS	Society of Biblical Literature Masoretic Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScrHier	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
SEÅ	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SOTS	The Society for Old Testament Study
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum, Supplements</i>

---

WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

### ***Bibliographical Abbreviations***

*Basic bibliography for each section is provided in the text itself.* In the course of the discussion, the following bibliographical abbreviations are used:

Aejmelaeus, “Hebrew *Vorlage*”

A. Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint,” *ZAW* 99 (1987), pp. 58–89

Allen, *Chronicles*

L.C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles*, I–II, *VTSup* 25, 27 (1974)

Archer, *Survey*

G.L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago, 1964)

Barr, *Comparative Philology*

J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1968; Winona Lake, IN, 1987, “with additions and corrections”)

———, *Literalism*

id., “The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations,” *MSU* 15, *NAWG* I, *Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1979, pp. 279–325

Barthélemy, *Devanciers*

D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, *VTSup* 10 (Leiden, 1963)

———, *Études*

id., *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, *OBO* 21 (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1978)

———, *Report*

id., et al., *Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*, vols. 1–5 (2nd ed.; New York, 1979–80)

BDB

S.R. Driver, F. Brown, and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1957)

Bentzen, *Introduction*

A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vols. I–II (Copenhagen, 1948–49)

BH

*Biblia Hebraica*, edited by R. Kittel and P. Kahle (3rd [7th] ed.; Stuttgart, 1951)

**BHS**

*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1976–77)

**BHQ**

*Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, edited by A. Schenker (Stuttgart, 2004–)

**Bible grecque**

M. Harl, G. Dorival, and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante—Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris, 1988)

**Bickerman, *Studies***

E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History, Part One*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums (Leiden, 1976)

**Bludau, *Daniel***

A. Bludau, *Die alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Daniel und ihr Verhältnis zum massorethischen Text*, Biblische Studien II, 2–3 (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1897)

**de Boer, *Samuel***

P.A.H. de Boer, *Research into the Text of I Samuel (I–XVI)* (Amsterdam, 1938)

**Bogaert, “Septante”**

P.-M. Bogaert, “Septante et versions grecques”, in: *DBSup* XII (Paris, 1993 [1994]), cols. 536–692

**Brockington, *NEB***

L.H. Brockington, *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, The Readings Adapted by the Translators of the New English Bible* (Oxford/Cambridge, 1973)

**Burney, *Kings***

C.F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford, 1903; repr. New York, 1970)

**Cappellus, *Critica Sacra***

L. Cappellus, *Critica Sacra* (Paris, 1650)

**Classified Bibliography**

S.P. Brock et al., *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint* (Leiden, 1973)

**Cornill, *Ezechiel***

C.H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig, 1886)

**Cox, *VI Congress***

C.E. Cox (ed.), *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Jerusalem 1986*, SBLSCS 23 (Atlanta, GA, 1987)

**Cox, *VII Congress***

C.E. Cox (ed.), *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Leuven 1989*, SBLSCS 31 (Atlanta, GA, 1991)

Cross, *ALQ*<sup>3</sup>

F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed.; Sheffield, 1995)

———, “Biblical Text”

id., “The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert”, *HTHR* 57 (1964), pp. 281–299

———, “Evolution”

id., “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts”, in: Cross–Talmon, *QHBT*, pp. 306–320

Cross–Talmon, *QHBT*

F.M. Cross and S. Talmon (eds.), *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge, MA/London, 1976)

Davidson, *Treatise*

S. Davidson, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Exhibiting a Systematic View of That Science* (Boston, 1853; Edinburgh, 1854)

Deist, *Text*

F.E. Deist, *Towards the Text of the Old Testament* (Pretoria, 1978; 2nd ed.: 1981)

———, *Witnesses*

id., *Witnesses to the Old Testament—Introducing Old Testament Textual Criticism*, *The Literature of the Old Testament*, vol. 5 (Pretoria, 1988)

Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*

F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament nebst den dem Schrifttexte einverleibten Randnoten Klassifiziert* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1920)

*DJD*

*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (of Jordan)*, vols. I– (Oxford, 1955–)

*DJD* III

M. Baillet and others, *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân*, *DJD* III (Oxford, 1962)

*DJD* V

J.M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*, *DJD* V (Oxford, 1968)

*DJD* VIII

E. Tov with the collaboration of R.A. Kraft, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr) (The Seiyal Collection I)*, *DJD* VIII (Oxford, 1990)

*DJD* IX

P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV, Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*, *DJD* IX (Oxford, 1992)

*DJD* XII

E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers*, *DJD* XII (Oxford, 1994)

*DJD* XIV

E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, *DJD* XIV (Oxford, 1995)

Dogniez, *Bibliography*

C. Dogniez, *Bibliography of the Septuagint, Bibliographie de la Septante 1970–1993*, VTSup 60 (Leiden, 1995)

Driver, *Samuel*

S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel, with an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1913)

Eissfeldt, *Introduction*

O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, an Introduction, Including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of Similar Type from Qumran. The History of the Formation of the Old Testament* (trans. P.R. Ackroyd; Oxford, 1965)

Fernández Marcos, *Introduccion*

N. Fernández Marcos, *Introduccion a las versiones griegas de la Biblia, Textos y Estudios “Cardenal Cisneros”* 23 (Madrid, 1979)

———, *La Septuaginta*

N. Fernández Marcos (ed.), *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporanea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)*, Textos y Estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 34 (Madrid, 1985)

———, *Scribes*

id., *Scribes and Translators—Septuagint and Old Latin in the Books of Kings*, VTSup 54 (Leiden, 1994)

Fischer, *Alphabet*

J. Fischer, *Das Alphabet der Septuaginta-Vorlage im Pentateuch*, ATAbh X, 2 (1924)

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: SOME BASIC NOTIONS

This chapter introduces some basic notions and discusses several concepts. These analyses are intended to serve as introductions to the following chapters, especially to the reconstruction and evaluation of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX. The reader is also referred to the many introductions to the LXX: Swete, *Introduction* (1914); Jellicoe, *SMS* (1968); M. Cimosi, *Guida allo studio della Bibbia greca (LXX): Storia, lingua, testi* (Roma, 1995); N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*, Textos y Estudios <Cardenal Cisneros> de la Biblia Políglota Matritense 64 (Madrid, 1998); Siegert, *Einführung*; Jobes–Silva, *Invitation*; J.M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London/New York, 2004); M. Tilly, *Einführung in die Septuaginta* (Darmstadt, 2005). Several introductions are available electronically, see <http://www.kalvesmaki.com/LXX>; <http://biblical-studies.ca/LXX>.

### A. The aims of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible

For a proper use of the LXX in textual studies, and, in fact, in biblical studies as a whole, it is essential to consider the aims of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. On this subject, see especially D. Barthélemy, “Problématique et tâches de la critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament hébraïque”, in: Barthélemy, *Études*, pp. 365–381; id., *Report*; B.S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 84–106; F.M. Cross, “Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible” in: O’Flaherty (see below), pp. 31–54; Deist, *Text*; id., *Witnesses*; M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, “The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: Rise, Decline, Rebirth”, *JBL* 102 (1983), pp. 365–399; A. Jepsen, “Von den Aufgaben der alttestamentlichen Textkritik”, *VTSup* 9 (1962), pp. 332–341; E.J. Kenney, “History, Textual Criticism”, *The New EncBrit, Macropaedia*, vol. 20 (15th ed.; Chicago, 1985), pp. 676–685; R. Kittel, *Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel* (Leipzig, 1901); Maas, *Textual Criticism*; Margolis, “Scope”; Noth, *Old*

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Textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible analyzes the biblical text and describes its history on general lines. For this purpose, scholars collect data from Hebrew sources relating to the textual history of the Bible and reconstruct similar data from the ancient translations. Furthermore, scholars attempt to evaluate these data by comparing them with their counterparts in the so-called Masoretic Text (MT). This evaluation is based on criteria taken from several disciplines outside the realm of textual criticism, such as the language, grammar and style of biblical Hebrew and the exegesis, literary criticism and history of the Bible. This evaluation is discussed in chapter 7.

In order to understand the nature of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, it is helpful to contrast this discipline with the textual criticism of other compositions. For example, in one of the important methodological discussions in this area Maas, *Textual Criticism*, p. 1, wrote:

The business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original (*constitutio textus*).

Postgate (in *EncBrit*, p. 709) provided a more extensive definition:

The aim of the “textual critic” may then be defined as the restoration of the text, as far as possible, to its original form, if by “original form” we understand the form intended by its author.

When these definitions are applied to the Hebrew Bible, a few points emerge:

(i) The two definitions mention the original form of the text rather than that of the composition contained in the text. Maas and Postgate were probably aware that sometimes the final form of the text differed from earlier developmental stages of the composition. Therefore, the above-

mentioned definitions can be applied to the Hebrew Bible in the following way: as a rule, textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible aims neither at the compositions written by the biblical authors, nor at previous oral stages, if such existed, but only at that stage (those stages) of the composition(s) that is (are) attested in the textual evidence. The very assumption of earlier stages is based merely on logical deductions and cannot be proven.

One of the aims of textual criticism is to learn about details in the “original” or determinative form(s) of the biblical books. Some scholars assert that we ought to reconstruct that or those forms. Some will go as far as suggesting which putative stage in the development of the books we ought to reconstruct and some scholars mention specific centuries.

Adherents of the oral tradition school are necessarily compelled to work with a broader definition of the goals of textual criticism. According to their view the books of the Hebrew Bible never existed in one original written form, but only in several parallel oral formulations.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) The second problem which arises from defining the aims of textual criticism concerns the *practical aspects* of the textual analysis. The two above-mentioned scholars state that textual criticism aims at establishing a text. The implication of this statement is that textual critics attempt to establish critical or eclectic editions of texts, by selecting from the various extant texts those readings that, according to the editor, were included in the original text of a particular composition. If the need arises, elements of this original text are also reconstructed by means of conjectural emendation.

These definitions show that the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible differs from textual criticism of other compositions, for there have been relatively few attempts to reconstruct the original text of a biblical book, for theoretical as well as practical reasons. Most of the existing critical editions are editions of MT that record variant readings in an accompanying critical apparatus (diplomatic editions), while the apparatuses of the *BH* series also contain conjectural emendations.

The problems with which the textual critic is confronted are not confined to biblical research since other literatures, such as several Akkadian compositions, also developed in a similar way through complex stages of

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1. See H.S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche, Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Problems der alttestamentischen Textkritik* (Uppsala, 1935); J. van der Ploeg, “Le rôle de la tradition orale dans la transmission du texte de l’Ancien Testament”, *RB* 54 (1947), pp. 5–41; Bentzen, *Introduction*, vol. I, 92 and Appendix, p. 6; R.B. Coote, “The Application of Oral Theory to Biblical Hebrew Literature”, *Semeia* 5 (1976), pp. 60–62.

literary (editorial) revision and textual transmission. Likewise, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* went through several stages of textual manipulation. At the same time, it seems that textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible raises unusually difficult problems, partly because these two literatures are better preserved in early witnesses.

In light of this discussion, it is now possible to formulate the aims and method of the textual criticism of the Bible. The study of the biblical text involves an investigation of its development, copying and transmission, and of the creation of readings over the centuries. In the course of this procedure, textual critics collect from Hebrew and translated texts all the details (readings) in which these texts differ from one another. Some of these readings were created during the textual transmission, while others derive from an earlier stage, that of the literary growth (cf. chapter 8). Scholars try to isolate and evaluate the readings that were created during the textual transmission by comparing them with other textual data, especially MT, while treating readings created at earlier stages (literary readings) separately. The difficulty in distinguishing between readings of these two types complicates the textual evaluation to such an extent that some scholars avoid textual evaluation altogether. Most scholars believe that this evaluation involves a reconstruction of elements included in the original or determinative text(s) of the Bible. With the aid of this procedure, scholars create tools for exegesis.

*Praxis of textual criticism.* The textual praxis consists of the analysis of the textual data and their use in biblical exegesis and involves two sets of data: (1) the biblical text as found in Hebrew sources and reflected in the ancient translations; (2) the conjectural emendation of the biblical text invoked when neither the Hebrew manuscripts nor the ancient versions preserve satisfactory evidence. The first area may be called textual criticism proper, while the second is supplementary to it. Rooted in the exegesis of the biblical text, conjectural criticism is only secondarily connected with textual criteria (see Margolis, "Scope", p. 19). In other words, the need for emending the text derives from exegesis, but the emendations themselves also need to be acceptable from a textual point of view. Conjectural criticism, therefore, is not discussed in this monograph because, by definition, it does not bear on the LXX or the other ancient translations.

The work of textual criticism proper may be divided into two stages: (1) collecting Hebrew readings and reconstructing them from the ancient versions; (2) evaluation of these readings. Chapters 2–5 (part I) relate to stage 1 and chapters 6–8 (part II) to stage 2.

This process involves all Hebrew and reconstructed details (readings) that differ from an accepted form of MT, viz., pluses, minuses, differences in letters, words, and the sequence of words, as well as differences in vocalization, word division, and sense divisions. MT (usually codex L) is taken as the point of departure for describing textual variations because it has become the *textus receptus* (received text) of Hebrew Scripture, but this procedure does not imply a preference for its contents. In the course of this comparison, we ought to remember that most early sources of the biblical text have been lost. Thus, although readings in the ancient witnesses, e.g. the LXX, are compared with MT, there may have been several intervening stages between that source and MT, but that complication does not invalidate the procedure itself. All details in manuscripts are considered readings, while readings differing from MT are named variants.<sup>2</sup>

## B. Collecting variants

### 1. The biblical text in early periods

The text of the Hebrew Bible is an abstract entity because it is not known whether anything that might be called *the* text of the Bible ever existed. Whatever textual theory one espouses, all scholars are involved in identifying textual traditions differing from MT in general or an accepted source of MT.<sup>3</sup> These deviating textual traditions are named variants (see below, section β). The main question about which scholars need to form an opinion is what the early text(s) looked like in the various stages of its (their) development, since this issue determines our view about the readings contained in the textual witnesses, in this case in the LXX. This field of interest is often named “the original text(s) of Hebrew Scripture”.

Before an interest in the early or original shape of the biblical text developed, the biblical text was considered to have existed originally in the

2. When preferring a variant to the reading of MT, one selects from several possible readings. This should not be called *correction* or *emendation* of MT, because MT is merely one of the witnesses of the biblical text, even if the major one (the term “emendation” is only permissible if one regards MT as the *only* witness of the biblical text). Hence, scholars who speak of the emendation or correction of MT when referring to variants that, in their view, are preferable to MT, employ misleading terminology. As a rule, such discussions distinguish between the emendation of MT as described here, and so-called pure emendations or conjectures, made without any basis in ancient sources.

3. The basis for the BH series is codex Leningrad B 19<sup>A</sup> and that for the HUB (*Hebrew University Bible*) is the Aleppo codex.

same form as that known from the medieval MT, considered the *textus receptus*. However, with the development of critical analysis in the 17th century and the comparison of textual witnesses, a new approach was created, according to which one could “improve” MT by adopting some details from the LXX or one of the other textual witnesses.

Critical scholars believe that the various textual witnesses of the Hebrew Bible go back to an original text, but this suggestion is not accepted by all, nor is it clear what is meant by an original text. Although the assumption of an original text is commonly accepted in the study of classical texts and the NT, in the case of Hebrew Scripture there are other options. Two models have been devised for the early written shape of Scripture, supported mainly by theoretical arguments and less so by actual data:

*α. Multiple pristine texts.* The assumption of multiple pristine texts was developed as an alternative to the theory of an original text. However, scholars never formulated clearly the nature of these texts and their relation to the developmental stages of the biblical books. The assumption of pristine texts involves the further assumption that all/several early texts were of equal authority. The main proponent of this theory was P. Kahle, whose theory of “vulgar texts”<sup>4</sup> stressed the initial differences between attestations of the biblical text that disappeared when the various traditions converged into one main stream, later known as MT.

*β. An original text or a series of determinative (original) texts.* The hypothesis concerning the existence of an original text, accepted by most scholars, has been formulated in different ways.<sup>5</sup> We disregard the *ipsissima verba* of the biblical authors and oral formulations of the biblical books since both are beyond our evidence. Rather, we focus on the written text or edition (or a number of consecutive editions) that contained the finished literary product (or one of its earlier stages) that stood at the beginning

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4. Kahle’s views were formulated in various and discordant ways between 1915 and 1962 and have become known especially from the three editions of his book *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 1947; 2d edition: 1959; German edition: Berlin, 1962). His views had previously been outlined in an epoch-making article: “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes”, *TSK* 88 (1915), pp. 399–439 = *Opera Minora* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 3–37, and his main formulations are included in his *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (Stuttgart, 1951).

5. The classical form of this hypothesis is connected with the name of P.A. de Lagarde. This scholar’s seminal remarks are included in the introduction to his *Proverbien* (Leipzig, 1863) and repeated with additions in his *Mittheilungen I* (Göttingen, 1884), pp. 19–26.

of the textual transmission process. This formulation gives a certain twist to the assumption of an original text as often described in the scholarly literature. Our definition does not refer to the original text in the usual sense of the word, since the copy described here as the final literary product could have been preceded by earlier literary crystallizations. Reconstructing elements of this copy (or copies) is one of the aims of textual scholars, although the discussion is constantly plagued by the difficulty of defining the literary stages. There is no evidence for the existence of the model of an original text because of the late date of our manuscripts, even the ones from the Judean Desert. For a detailed discussion of both models, see *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 163–169.

It is hard to decide between these two models on the basis of either internal evidence or external parallels. Internal evidence is lacking (the Dead Sea Scrolls are much later than the composition dates of the biblical books) and external parallels are probably irrelevant because each literature developed differently. One would therefore prefer to leave the solution of this problem to historians, but the issue of the original text has very *practical* aspects for exegetes. In our view, scholars should express an opinion on this issue that guides them in determining their approach to the differences among textual witnesses. Scholars involved in textual comparisons cannot afford themselves the “luxury” of not having an opinion on the original text of Hebrew Scripture.<sup>6</sup>

In *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 167–169, the early development of the biblical text is summarized as follows. At the end of the composition process of a biblical book stood a text that was finished at a literary level and subsequently was considered authoritative, even if only by a limited group of people. Scribal activity preceding the completion of the literary composition is disregarded in the textual analysis, while literary activity preceding that stage is not. Indeed, earlier compositional stages that were intended to be disregarded by each subsequent literary reviser could not be eradicated. This assumption is complicated since each of these compositional stages was accepted as authoritative when it was produced, as recognized by their preservation in some textual sources. In these cases, the textual evidence does not point to a single “original” text, but to a series of subsequent authoritative texts

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6. In discussing the topic of the *Urtext* (original text), scholars often confuse the question of the original text of the Bible with that of the original text of MT. However, MT is but one witness of the biblical text, and its original form was not identical to the original text of the Bible as a whole.

produced by the same or different authors. Each of these stages may be considered a type of original text. As far as we know, no literary rewriting took place when the transmission was simple, such as evidenced in the case of some individual Psalms, allowing us to aim for a single “original” text. The assumption of parallel pristine texts provides a possible alternative model, but at present it is not supported by textual evidence.

The finished composition stood at the beginning of a process of copying and textual transmission, creating genetic variants in a linear way. We suggest that textual criticism keeps in mind the original text as defined here or a series of determinative (original) texts. This formulation involves the understanding that the original text(s) remain(s) an evasive entity that cannot be reconstructed, although each assumed scribal error requires the determination of original/secondary status. This model reflects the understanding that some textual witnesses evidence vestiges of a chain of literary activity. The original text(s) as described here existed in a written unvocalized form. If ever found, that (those) text(s) would probably contain errors and inconsistencies.

The textual criticism of Hebrew Scripture is concerned not only with understanding the development of the biblical text, as described above, but also with collecting evidence pertaining to the various textual traditions. These data are collected from both Hebrew and translated sources.

The first stage of the textual scholar’s work is the comparison of all extant textual witnesses with this ground-form and the subsequent listing of the differences, a procedure known as collation.

As a rule, collating Hebrew readings from biblical manuscripts is a relatively uncomplicated procedure. However, collating details from the ancient versions, among them the LXX, is very complex. The textual scholar must first determine whether a given deviation from MT in a translation reflects a Hebrew variant; for only if it does will he/she be interested in its contents. Accordingly, the first step in the use of the ancient translations for text-critical purposes is their *retroversion* (*retranslation*, *reverse translation*) into the supposed Hebrew/Aramaic ground-form (see chapter 3), when possible, so that the retroverted elements, together with the evidence transmitted in Hebrew, can be compared with MT (see chapter 7).

## 2. The retroversion of variants

A *variant* is any detail in a textual source of the Hebrew Bible that differs from a specific form of MT.<sup>7</sup> Thus, differences in letters and in complete

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7. As a result, this description does not refer to differences between parallel passages *within* MT itself, for these must be treated on a different level.

words, as well as omissions, additions and transpositions, are all variants. Differences in orthography are also variants, but they are usually treated as a separate category. In our analysis, all variants are treated equally, that is, no distinction is made in the terminology between significant and insignificant variants.<sup>8</sup> *Retroverted variants* are exactly the same groups of elements which, when retroverted from a translation, differ from MT in the same way as variants that are found in Hebrew manuscripts. The term “variant” is also used for elements such as vocalization and different divisions of words and sentences which were *not* indicated in the scrolls used by the translators, but which are necessarily reflected in the translation (see chapter 4).

Any difference (deviation) from MT in a translation could, in theory, reflect a variant reading. However, the translators introduced many such details without any relation to the Hebrew text before them, while other details developed in the course of the textual transmission of the translation. In every single case of deviation, therefore, it must be determined whether or not a different Hebrew reading is reflected. Chapter 2 is devoted to this matter.

Although originally the textual criticism of the Bible was intended to aid exegesis, it developed into a branch in its own right. As a result, because of the nature of the textual witnesses, textual criticism isolates variants, whether they are important for the exegete or not. In fact, even *minutiae* such as an omission or addition of the connective *waw* or of pronouns may be significant for exegesis.

For instance,

Gen 4:20	MT	אבי ישב אהל ומקנה
		the ancestor of those who dwell in tents and amidst herds ( <i>NJPS</i> )
	LXX	ὁ πατήρ οἰκούντων ἐν σκηναῖς κτηνοτρόφων the father of those who dwell in tents of cattlemen

It is not easy to determine with which word in MT **ומקנה** is connected. The *NJPS* translation reflects one possibility, but MT may also be corrupt. In the LXX the rendering of **ומקנה** depends on the preceding word, possibly

8. Pace E.J. Epp, “Toward the Clarifications of the Term ‘Textual Variant’”, in: J.K. Elliott (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Language and Text*, SNT 44 (1976), pp. 153–173. Epp distinguishes between (1) “readings”, that is, “ordinary” textual differences between textual witnesses and (2) “variants”, that is, “significant readings” (see esp. p. 167).

on the basis of a reading אהלי מקנה (ב) (note the plural form of σκηναίς), which may well reflect the original reading.

1 Sam 28:3	MT	ושמואל מת . . . ויקברוהו ברמה ובעירו (and Samuel died . . . and they buried him) in Ramah <i>and</i> in his city
	LXX	ἐν Αρμαθαίμ ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ in Armathaim, in his city

The use of the *waw* in ובעירו is not readily understandable. It is therefore noteworthy that in the LXX (as well as V and some medieval manuscripts of MT) this *waw* is not represented.<sup>9</sup>

### 3. Vorlage (underlying text, parent text)

It is generally assumed that the LXX was translated from a Hebrew text that was written in the square (Aramaic) script (see chapter 5.A excursus 3). This Hebrew/Aramaic reconstructed text is often called the *Vorlage* of the translators, that is, the text that was lying in front of them.<sup>10</sup> This term applies to both single words and the reconstructed text as a whole.

### C. The reconstruction of individual elements in the original text of the LXX

There has been a great deal of scholarly discussion about the reconstruction of the original text of the LXX. More attention has been paid to the theoretical aspects of this issue than to its practical application, that is, the actual reconstruction of the original text. The former aspect is dealt with first, but it should be realized that a full discussion is impossible here. For a more comprehensive treatment, see especially Jellicoe, *SMS*; Orlinsky, “Proto-Septuagint”; id., “Current Progress”; the studies included in S. Jellicoe (ed.), *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions and Interpre-*

9. It must be admitted that in other instances of additions or omissions of *waw* or καί the underlying text of the LXX cannot be determined easily, as noted in chapter 5.C.1. In those cases, a *waw* or καί is added or omitted freely without changing the meaning of the context, but in the above-mentioned two verses the lack of representation of the *waw* in the translation is significant, and therefore seems to derive from the translators' *Vorlage*.

10. The German word *Vorlage* has become a *terminus technicus*. At the same time, J.W. Wevers often uses the term “parent text”, while other scholars speak of the “underlying text”.

tations (New York, 1974); J.W. Wevers, "The Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy", *CBQ* 39 (1977), pp. 240–244; G. Dorival, *Bible grecque*, pp. 31–125; Fernández Marcos, *Scribes*, chapter 2; *Classified Bibliography*, § 22; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 3; Siegert, *Einführung*, pp. 55–120 ("Der lange Weg zum Septuaginta-Urtext").

The two major theories about the textual history of the LXX are usually described as the *Urtext* theory, first suggested by P. de Lagarde and the "multiple translations" theory, first propounded by P. Kahle. De Lagarde assumed an *Urtext* (the first translation or the hypothetical archetype of all extant manuscripts) of the LXX, which subsequently divided into different text forms, while Kahle posited multiple translations that converged into one central tradition.<sup>11</sup> These scholars thus espoused similar views on the history of both the Hebrew and the Greek scriptures (see section B.1 above). The two theories have developed beyond the original formulations of de Lagarde and Kahle, but in scholarship these subsequent developments are often ascribed to them. Furthermore, the usual polarized description of these theories is not justified because they are, in fact, not mutually exclusive. For a more detailed analysis, see Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 163–169.

In our view, the textual history of the LXX must be reconstructed on the basis of elements from both theories as well as additional data that have been discovered in recent years. For an analysis along these lines, see E.J. Bickerman, "Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint", in: S. Lieberman (ed.), *A. Marx Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1950), pp. 149–178 = id., *Studies*, pp. 137–166 and Tov, "Compendia". According to this synthetic view, which may be characterized as a theory of "multiple textual traditions", one Greek translation must be presupposed as the base of the manuscripts of most, if not all, the books of the LXX. The original wording of this translation was not long preserved in a pure form. With the beginning of the textual transmission of the original translation in different scrolls, it split into several secondary textual traditions, since various types of corrections (mainly towards the Hebrew) were inserted in individual scrolls.

On the basis of this theory, four stages in the development of the text of the LXX can be recognized:

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11. For bibliographical references, cf. notes 4–5 above, as well as § 22 of the *Classified Bibliography*. Other descriptions of the textual history of the LXX refer only to a single aspect of its complicated growth and, as a rule, have not been accepted in scholarship. These are the so-called liturgical approach of Thackeray (cf. Jellicoe, *SMS*, pp. 64–70) and the transcription theory of Wutz, *Transkriptionen und Systematische Wege* (cf. Jellicoe, *SMS*, pp. 70–73 and *Classified Bibliography*, § 20).

1. The original translation.
2. A multitude of textual traditions resulting from the insertion of corrections (mainly towards the Hebrew) in all known individual scrolls in the pre-Christian period, and to a lesser extent in the first century C.E.
3. Textual stabilization in the first and second centuries C.E., due to the perpetuation of some textual traditions and the discontinuation of others.
4. The creation of new textual groups and the contamination of existing ones through the influence of the text of the revisions of Origen and Lucian in the third and fourth centuries C.E.

We now return to the question of the reconstruction of the original text of the LXX. According to de Lagarde, this reconstruction can be accomplished by comparing the three major revisions—those of Origen, Lucian and Hesychius—which themselves must first be reconstructed. Unfortunately, the revisions of Origen and Lucian cannot be reconstructed with any confidence. De Lagarde's own attempt at the Lucianic revision, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior graece* (Göttingen, 1883), indeed recreated that revision, but it was based on unsound principles. A better reconstruction is contained in N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega, I, 1–2 Samuel; II, 1–2 Reyes*, Textos y Estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 50, 53 (Madrid, 1989, 1992) and B. Taylor, *The Lucianic Manuscripts of 1 Reigns, 1–2*, HSM 50, 51 (Atlanta, GA, 1992, 1993), but those reconstructions, too, have their limitations. Moreover, the assumed existence of a revision by Hesychius must probably be abandoned for lack of evidence. Therefore, de Lagarde's outline cannot be followed. His main thesis, however, viz., the assumption of an *Urtext* that may be reconstructed, nevertheless remains methodologically correct.

The best reconstructions of the original text of the LXX derive from the “Göttingen school”, as reflected in Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (1935); Rahlfs–Hanhart, *Septuaginta* (2006); id., *Septuaginta, Societatis scientiarum gottinensis auctoritate, I, Genesis* (Stuttgart, 1926); and in the volumes of the “Göttingen Septuagint” edited by the Septuaginta Unternehmen: *Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate academiae litterarum gottinensis editum* (see Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 6 for a list). The editors of these volumes reconstruct what appears to them to be the archetypal form of a given translation by using all available sources for the text of the LXX: Greek manuscripts, biblical quotations in the Church Fathers, and transla-

tions of the LXX.<sup>12</sup> A similar system was employed by M.L. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek*, I–IV, V (Paris, 1931–[1938]; Philadelphia, 1992). In this edition, the variants belonging to the different recensions are listed in separate apparatuses. Margolis' description of his own editorial technique can be applied equally to the volumes of the Göttingen Septuagint:

The text as it appears on the top of the page is the nearest approach to the Greek original as it left the hands of the translator(s). It has been arrived at after a comparison of the remainders in the principal recensions, when once the recensional peculiarities in each have been subtracted, and an ascertainment of the form of the text to which the recensions lead and which must be purified of the corruptions antecedent to them all.

For the first methodological discussion of the reconstruction of the *Urtext*, see the canons of de Lagarde, *Proverbien*, pp. 1–4 (translated into English by Driver, *Samuel*, p. xliv). For a detailed description of the procedures of the Göttingen Septuagint series, the reader is referred to the introductions to the various volumes, as well as to W. Kappler, "Ziele und Aufgaben des Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmens", *GGA* 202 (1940), pp. 115–124; Katz, "Septuagintal Studies", pp. 186ff.; id., "Das Problem des Urtextes der Septuaginta", *ThZ* 5 (1949), pp. 1–24 (according to Katz, all extant variants may be reduced to grammatical, similar-looking and recensional variants); Wevers, *Text History . . . Genesis*, pp. 186–217; Hanhart, *Text . . . Esra*, pp. 55ff.; R. Hanhart–J.W. Wevers, *Das Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen* (Göttingen, 1977); J.W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*, *MSU* XIII (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 86–144; R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith*, *MSU* XIV (Göttingen, 1979), pp. 79–109; J.W. Wevers, "The Göttingen Septuagint: Some Post-partem Reflections", in: Cox, *VII Congress*, pp. 51–60; several more recent studies listed in Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 6. Very helpful are C. Schäfer, *Benutzerhandbuch zur Göttinger Septuaginta, I* (Göttingen, 2012) and the various studies in R.G. Kratz–B. Neuschäfer (eds.), *Die Göttinger Septuaginta: Ein editorisches Jahrhundert Projekt*, *MSI* 30 (Berlin/Boston, 2013).<sup>13</sup>

12. All Septuagintal readings that are excluded from the reconstructed archetypal text are recorded in an extensive critical apparatus. The Hexaplaric evidence is recorded separately.

13. This description does not refer to other critical editions of the LXX such as the "Cambridge Septuagint", because that edition contains a diplomatic rather than an eclectic text.

One practical aspect of the reconstruction of the *Urtext* must now be considered. The text-critical evaluation of elements in the LXX vis-à-vis MT requires taking a stand on the value of the individual manuscripts of the LXX. An important methodological issue in this regard is whether alternative Greek readings found in different manuscripts may be assumed to reflect alternative Hebrew readings or whether in such instances, too, only one point of contact with a Hebrew text should be posited.

As already noted, it stands to reason that all known manuscripts and papyri of the LXX (with the exception of the manuscripts representing a recension, on which see chapter 5.A excursus 4), divergent though they often are, derive from one archetypal text, which may have been identical with the original translation. This assumption carries the implication that the majority of the differences between the Greek manuscripts were caused by scribes and learned readers of the LXX, who presumably inserted several alterations into their copies. As a rule, these scribes and readers did not consult Hebrew texts, so that *at the base of most divergences between the Greek manuscripts not more than one Hebrew reading should be posited*. In other words, with one exception (see below) there was but *one point of contact* between the LXX and a Hebrew parent text.<sup>14</sup>

Consequently, in the following examples only one of the Greek readings may be considered archetypal:

Jer 32(39):33	תקל	ἔτι λαβεῖν	B-S A-106' 62 Arab
		ἔτι ἐκλαβεῖν	130
		λαβεῖν	87
		ἐκβαλεῖν	231
		ἐκλαβεῖν	rel. (accepted as original in the Göttingen Septuagint)

(Cf. Ziegler, *Beiträge*, p. 52).

14. This view is not shared by A. Sperber, *Grammar*, pp. 583ff., who claims that different *Greek* readings often reflect different *Hebrew* readings (for detailed criticism of Sperber's position see Orlinsky, "Proto-Septuagint"). This position cannot be maintained, in our view, except for differences between MSS A . . . and B . . . in Judges, which reflect two different translations (or more precisely, a translation that comes close to the original form of the translation, viz., MSS A . . ., and a revision of that original translation, viz., MSS B . . .). Cf. Jellicoe, *SMS*, pp. 280–283. However, Wevers (n. 16) and A. Pietersma, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V*, *American Studies in Papyrology* 16 (Toronto/Sarasota, 1977), pp. 157ff., believe that these scribes or one of their sources *did* know Hebrew.

Jer 44(51):28	הבאים	οί καταστάντες	B (accepted as original in the Göttingen Septuagint)
		οί καταβάντες	V 62
		οί καταβαίνοντες	A Arab
		οί εισέλθοντες	130 Bo
		οί παροικούντες	rel. (cf. v. 14)

(Cf. Ziegler, *Beiträge*, p. 53).

The decision as to which Greek reading should be considered archetypal depends on internal arguments, related partly to the character of the Greek manuscripts and partly to MT. The revisions of the Old Greek translation constitute an important exception to the rule,<sup>15</sup> because these were based either directly or indirectly on Hebrew sources (usually, a tradition close to MT), so that they often reflect a Hebrew text that differs from the *Vorlage* of the LXX. This applies to the revisions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, Origen (Hexapla) and Lucian, as well as to less well-known revisions such as Pap. Chester Beatty–Scheide (967) of Ezekiel, Pap. Antinopolis of Proverbs, Pap. Ryl. Gk. 458 of Deuteronomy,<sup>16</sup> and also to the text of certain uncials, e.g., MSS AFM . . . in Exodus–Deuteronomy<sup>17</sup> and MSS QV . . . in Jeremiah (cf. Ziegler, *Ieremias*, pp. 63–66).<sup>18</sup> On the possibility that some Qumran Greek texts reflect revisions towards early Hebrew texts differing from the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek, see E. Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert”, in: id., *HB, GB, and Qumran*, pp. 339–364 and below, chapter 6.B.1.

#### D. The character of the canon of the “LXX”

For a proper analysis of the text-critical value of the LXX, one must approach it as a collection of individual translation units rather than a

15. For introductory statements to the revisions, see Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 59–86; Jellicoe, *SMS*, pp. 74ff. and Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 141–147. On the principles that guided the revisers, see P. Katz, “Frühe hebräisierende Rezensionen der Septuaginta und die Hexapla”, *ZAW* 69 (1957), pp. 77–84 and Tov, “Compendia”. See further below, chapter 5.A excursus 4.

16. See, however, J.W. Wevers, “The Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy”, *CBQ* 39 (1977), pp. 240–244.

17. See D.W. Gooding, *Recensions of the Septuagint Pentateuch* (London, 1955).

18. On the nature of 7QLXXExod and 4QLXXNum, probably not to be considered revisions of the Old Greek, see Tov, *HB, GB, and Qumran*, 346, 358–361.

homogeneous translation. The appreciation of this heterogeneity is important, because the text-critical analysis is based mainly on the characteristics of the translation techniques of the individual units, and differences in translation character and vocabulary must be taken into consideration. See *Bible grecque*, pp. 31–125; Tov, “Post-Pentateuchal Translations”.

A short description of the causes of the heterogeneity of the canon of the LXX<sup>19</sup> is in order.

The name “Septuaginta”, which now refers to all Jewish-Greek biblical books, at first applied only to the Torah. When the collection of Greek biblical books grew, however, it came to denote the whole corpus. This collection contains both translated compositions (whose Hebrew and Aramaic *Vorlagen* have not always been preserved) and works that were originally composed in Greek, such as 2–4 Maccabees and the Wisdom of Solomon.

The anonymous person(s) responsible for selecting the translations included in the collection of Jewish-Greek Scripture did not pay much attention to their uniformity, probably because there were not many copies of each translated book from which to choose. Hence the “LXX” corpus contains translations of different types, early and late, original and revised, official and private. These differences can sometimes be expressed in terms of the degree of freedom or literalness reflected in the translation (see section E), and—in a negative way—in terms of authorship: in very few cases can more than one book be ascribed to a given translator. Most books were produced by different individuals, though probably one person translated Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets (now preserved in its original form in the first parts of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and in the whole of the Minor Prophets [see Tov, *Jeremiah*, pp. 135–155]), and different individuals possibly translated 1 Esdras and Daniel (see Thackeray, *Grammar*, p. 12) and Job and Proverbs (see Gerleman, *Proverbs*, pp. 59–60).

Within the LXX, revisions have been recognized both in whole books and in parts of books.<sup>20</sup> This applies especially to translation units within

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19. The individual manuscripts of the LXX differ slightly with regard to the scope of the canon; modern discussions usually refer to the concept of the canon which underlies the edition of Rahlfs–Hanhart, *Septuaginta*, and which is based on ancient manuscripts.

20. In these cases the archetype of the translation presumably was composed of several scrolls that happened to contain the Old Greek translation in some sections, but a revised version of this translation in others. See E. Tov, “The Coincidental Textual Nature of the Collections of Ancient Scriptures”, *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, VTSup 133 (Leiden/Boston, 2010), pp. 153–169.

Samuel-Kings (1–4 Kingdoms in the LXX) that contain the so-called revision of *kaige*-Theodotion, i.e., 2 Sam 11:1 (10:1?)—1 Kings 2:11 and 1 Kings 21–2 Kings 25; Ruth; Lamentations; and possibly also other sections, see Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, pp. 34ff.<sup>21</sup> and Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, p. 143.

One must therefore constantly remember that the use of different translation equivalents, both within a certain book and in the LXX as a whole, may have originated with different translators. For example, שׁוֹד, usually translated in the LXX by παντοκράτωρ, θεός, and κύριος, is rendered in Ruth 1:20, 21 as ἰκανός.<sup>22</sup> This rendering is not surprising, because the “LXX” of Ruth apparently contains the translation of *kaige*-Th (see Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, p. 47), where this rendering is found frequently.

Lexical differences between two sections of a translation may be illustrated by the following examples from the two sections of Jeremiah (chapters 1–28, 29–52 according to the LXX):

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21. It is not impossible that sections of individual books of Hebrew Scripture were assigned to more than one translator, although the “best” cases for the assumption of multiple authorship, i.e., Samuel-Kings and Jeremiah, have been shown to contain an alternation of original and non-original (revised) sections (see Barthélemy, *Devanciers* and Tov, *Jeremiah*). On the composite character of the translation of the Pentateuch, see especially Herrmann–Baumgärtel, pp. 53–80. On Isaiah, see G.B. Gray, *JThSt* 12 (1911), pp. 286–293; Fischer, *Isaias*, pp. 2–5; Herrmann–Baumgärtel, pp. 20–31; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 31–45; Seeligmann, *Isaiah* 1948, pp. 39–42; M.S. Hurwitz, *HUCA* 28 (1957), pp. 75–83. On Ezekiel, see H.St.J. Thackeray, *JThSt* 4 (1903), pp. 390ff.; id., *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, The Schweich Lectures 1920 (London, 1921), pp. 37–39, 118–129; Herrmann–Baumgärtel, pp. 1–19; M. Turner, *JThSt* 7 (1956), pp. 12–24. P.D.M. Turner, *The Septuagint Version of Chapters I–XXXIX of the Book of Ezekiel*, unpubl. diss. Oxford University (Oxford, 1970) believes in the unity of that translation. On the Dodekapropheton, see Herrmann–Baumgärtel, pp. 32–38. Other books in the LXX for which a theory of multiple authorship has been suggested are: Genesis, Joshua, Psalms, Amos, Baruch, Daniel. See further the long list of bibliographical references to two-(three-) translator theories *apud* H.M. Orlinsky, “The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators”, *HUCA* 46 (1975), pp. 89–90 (n. 2).

22. This rendering is based on the interpretation of שׁוֹד as *še-day*, that is “he who is sufficient”, an etymological conception known also from rabbinic sources. Accordingly, the Greek rendering must be translated “He who is sufficient, competent”, and not “the Almighty” as in LSJ, s.v.; see further J. Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek–Hebrew and Hebrew–Greek Index to Aquila* (Philadelphia, 1916), p. 152 and the literature quoted there.

כֹּה אָמַר ה'	τάδε λέγει κύριος	61×	2:31–29:13(49:12)
	οὕτως εἶπε κύριος	68×	30(49):1–51:34(45:4)
אלהים אחרים	θεοὶ ἄλλότριοι	12×	1:16–25:6
	θεοὶ ἕτεροι	6×	39(32):29–51(44):15

On differences in vocabulary between the various translation units in the LXX, see Thiersch, *Pentateuch*, pp. 62ff.; Hatch, *Essays*, pp. 20–23; Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 315–318; Thackeray, *Grammar*, pp. 7ff.; Tov, *Jeremiah*, *passim* as well as all the studies on different translational vocabulary within the LXX books.

#### E. The categories “literal” and “free”

##### 1. Translation technique and the text-critical analysis of the LXX

Analysis of the techniques used by the Greek translators provides data for a better understanding of the translators’ exegesis and for the text-critical evaluation of the LXX. The latter aspect is considered here.

The ultimate purpose of the text-critical analysis of the LXX is to isolate deviations in that translation that presumably were based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from MT and, accordingly, to reconstruct elements in that *Vorlage*. This is a complicated process, and the more one recognizes the problems involved, the more one realizes how hazardous the undertaking is.

The procedure followed in reconstructing elements in the *Vorlage* of the LXX is described in chapters 3–4. Much use is made of Greek–Hebrew equivalents that can be located with the aid of computer searches and printed concordances. However, these equivalents cannot be evaluated profitably without a sound knowledge of their nature and the background of the translation unit in which they are found. The text-critical analysis of a given equivalent in a translation unit also requires frequent reliance on equivalents occurring elsewhere in the LXX, and therefore a clear view of the nature of those equivalents is essential. For example, an equivalent under investigation may reflect contextual exegesis, and for this reason it must be analyzed within its context without considering alternative explanations.

The text-critical use of data in the LXX can proceed profitably only if *the analysis of the translation technique of each individual translation unit is taken into account*. That knowledge is essential for the correct understanding of all elements found in the LXX, both of the word or verse under consideration and of any parallel brought to bear on them.

When following this procedure, one will recognize that equivalents and phenomena are evaluated in different ways when they are found in different translation units. The LXX of Job, for example, may be characterized as a very free translation,<sup>23</sup> and hence the occurrence of the unusual equivalent **עם**—**ἄνθρωπος** in Job 12:2 should not surprise us (**עם**—**אתם כי אתם עם**—**εἴτα ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἄνθρωποι**). However, the occurrence of the same equivalent in Isa 36:11 is surprising and may therefore reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, for the historical sections of Isaiah (chapters 36–39) are rendered with relative literalness (whereas elsewhere in Isaiah the LXX usually presents a free translation).<sup>24</sup> Consequently, one is entitled to retrovert **εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει** in Isa 36:11 as **באזני האנשים אשר על החומה** instead of MT **באזני העם אשר על החומה**. Indeed, such a reading has now turned up in a Qumran scroll, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (**באוזני האנשים היושבים על החומה**).<sup>25</sup>

A similar problem exists with regard to the evaluation of short texts in the LXX as against longer texts in MT, especially with regard to the LXX of the story of David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17–18), Jeremiah, Job and Esther (see Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, 283–326). It is suggested here that the main criterion for the text-critical evaluation of any short text in the LXX (or in any other translation), is the character of the translation unit in which that short text is found. In general, if a certain book is rendered literally, it is not to be assumed that the translator omitted large sections that were found in his *Vorlage*. An alternative explanation of the brevity of the LXX is that the translator worked from a shorter *Hebrew* text. By the same token, if a translation unit is free or even paraphrastic, exegetical omissions (even long ones) may be expected. In the case of Job, there is little doubt that the translation technique was very free, and therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that the translator produced an abridged translation of the original text. In contrast, the translation technique of the LXX of Jeremiah is relatively literal, and hence its translator would not be expected to abbreviate his *Vorlage*

23. Cf. especially G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, I. *The Book of Job*, LUÅ 43, 2 (1946); D.H. Gard, *The Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job*, JBL Monograph Series 8 (1952); H.M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book Job, II", *HUCA* 29 (1958), pp. 229–271.

24. See especially M.S. Hurwitz, "The Septuagint of Isaiah 36–39 in Relation to That of 1–35, 40–66", *HUCA* 28 (1957), pp. 75–83.

25. The variant in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> probably resulted from harmonization with v. 12 **האנשים היושבים על החומה**. **ἀνθρώπων** in the LXX could have been harmonized with the Greek translation of v. 12, but it is questionable whether the presumed harmonization would have been limited to this one word. Moreover, as noted above, the translation of this section is relatively literal.

drastically; note that the LXX version is shorter than MT by one seventh. Probably, therefore, the translator of Jeremiah used a Hebrew manuscript that was considerably shorter than MT. Evidence of such a short text is now provided in the Qumran scrolls 4QJer<sup>b,d</sup>, which in other aspects, too, resemble the textual tradition that lies at the base of the LXX.<sup>26</sup>

The purpose of the above introductory remarks was to stress the importance of an analysis of the translation technique of the individual units for the text-critical analysis of the LXX. As a rule, these units comprise separate books, but in the case of Samuel-Kings the translation units comprise sections of books.

In the analysis of differences between LXX and the other sources, much attention is paid to its translation character, that is, whether the LXX unit should be considered (very) literal, (very) free or somewhere in between. We therefore ought to clarify the categories “literal” (“wooden”, “stereotyped”,<sup>27</sup> “faithful”, “careful”), “free” (“contextual”) and “paraphrastic”. These adjectives are admittedly very general and are therefore often considered inadequate. However, other characterizations of translation techniques do not cover the full range of the translators’ attitudes to their task.<sup>28</sup> The characterizations “free”/“literal” refer to renderings of individ-

26. For a discussion of this issue, see Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 286–294.

27. To the best of my knowledge, the use of the term “stereotyped” in LXX research was introduced by M. Flashar, *ZAW* 32 (1912), p. 105. E.A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* [Leiden, 1964], p. 156, used the term “concordant relationship” and C. Rabin, *Textus* 6 (1968), pp. 8ff., described this technique as “verbal linkage”. See further J.C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (London, 1965), pp. 27ff. as well as the following studies relating to the LXX: J.A.L. Lee, “Equivocal and Stereotyped Renderings in the LXX”, *RB* 87 (1980), pp. 104–117; S. Olofsson, “Consistency as a Translation Technique”, *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 6 (1992), pp. 14–30.

28. The study by Barr, *Literalism*, constitutes the most thorough analysis of this area. See further: E.J. Bickerman, “The Septuagint as a Translation”, *PAAJR* 28 (1959), pp. 1–39 = id., *Studies*, pp. 167–200; C. Rabin, “The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint”, *Textus* 6 (1968), pp. 1–26; S.P. Brock, “The Phenomenon of the Septuagint”, *OTS* 7 (1972), pp. 11–36; id., “Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity”, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), pp. 67–87; H.M. Orlinsky, “The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators”, *HUCA* 46 (1975), pp. 103ff.; Tov–Wright, “Literalness”; S. Olofsson, *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*, ConBOT 30 (Lund, 1990); id., *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*, ConBOT 57; Winona Lake, IN, 2009); E. Tov, “The Nature and

ual words, syntagmata, and clauses, and on the basis of such characterizations, a complete unit (book) may be dubbed a “literal” or “free” translation. The translator of such a unit is then described as someone who tried to be “faithful” to the underlying Hebrew text or who let his imagination run freely while transferring the details of the source text into the target language. Between these two opposite approaches, many gradations and variations may be discerned, from extremely paraphrastic (to the extent that the wording of the parent text is hardly recognizable) to slavishly faithful.

When analyzing these approaches from the point of view of the translators’ attitudes towards the Hebrew text, we are grasping in the dark because no external information is available.

Tov, *HB, GB, and Qumran*, pp. 330–338 analyzed possible explanations of these different approaches. In that study, I discarded the possibilities that the translators followed a specific translation model, influenced by the different content of the biblical books, chronological considerations (that is, a free approach followed by a literal one or *vice versa*), different Egyptian backgrounds, and different views about the sacred character of the books translated. I then suggested that these differences reflect the personal approaches of the translators. After all, each of the original Greek translations was the product of an individual who created a personal translation, as opposed to an official one. Even the translators of the five books of the Torah produced personal translations, later to be accepted as official documents. The two basic approaches toward the nature of the translation, the free and the literal, probably existed from the very beginning of the translation enterprise even if the translators did not have specific models in mind.

When analyzing translation techniques from the point of view of the translators’ attitudes towards the Hebrew text, it is probably best to start from the criteria for literalness, not because literalness formed the basis of most translations, but because these criteria can be defined more easily than those for free renderings. Accordingly, in section 2 below, five criteria for the characterization of literal renderings are formulated. The literal adherence to the Hebrew parent text can be partially expressed in statistical terms (see below). For attempts in this direction, see, among others, Tov–Wright, “Literalness” and Jarick, *Ecclesiastes*. Renderings and translation units that do not fulfill these criteria for literalness are considered non-literal. They

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Study of the Translation Technique of the LXX in the Past and Present”, in: id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 239–246; A. Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (revised and expanded edition; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA, 2007).

are identifiable not only by negative indications, but also by positive criteria such as are described in section 3. These criteria, however, cannot be expressed statistically.

## 2. Criteria for the analysis of literal renderings

a. *Internal consistency.* Many translators rendered all occurrences of a given Hebrew word, element (e.g., bound prepositions), root or construction as far as possible by the same Greek equivalent, often in disregard of Greek idiom. This *tradition* (rather than system) of consistently representing words and roots by the same equivalents probably developed in a school-type milieu (cf. Brock, “Phenomenon” [n. 28]) and may reflect the belief that the Scripture words should be rendered consistently in order to remain as faithful as possible to the sacred text. The existence of such an approach, visible also in several Aramaic Targumim, is not indicated explicitly in ancient sources, but it certainly matches the rabbinic approach to the Bible, especially to the Torah. It is unclear whether consistent representation, often called “stereotyping”, was the approach adopted by the first translators. It is also possible that the first translators<sup>29</sup> did not follow a system of fixed equivalents, but were sensitive to the requirements of the context and the limitations of the Greek language, and above all, they were guided by their own inclinations. While arguments may be suggested for the priority of either the literal or the free approach, it seems more likely that both models co-existed from the beginning and that translators opted for different translation systems.

It has yet to be examined which types of words and elements were rendered stereotypically, in which books and under which circumstances.<sup>30</sup> A good example of a stereotyped rendering is the equivalent ברית—διαθήκη which occurs in 99 percent of the occurrences of the Hebrew and Greek words.<sup>31</sup> Other examples are ה'—κύριος, אלהים—θεός, אח—ἀδελφός,

29. The sequence in which the books of the LXX were translated is unknown. While it stands to reason that the translators would have started with Genesis, different views have been expressed on this issue. See Tov, “Post-Pentateuchal Translations”.

30. For a brief discussion of some types of words which have been rendered stereotypically, see J. Heller, “Grenzen sprachlicher Entsprechung der LXX”, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 15 (1969), pp. 240ff.; see further Tov, “Dimensions” and G. Bertram, “Der Sprachschatz der Septuaginta und der des hebräischen Alten Testaments”, *ZAW* 57 (1939), pp. 85–101.

31. ברית occurs in Hebrew Scripture on 287 occasions. Of these it is rendered 264 times by διαθήκη. On 19 occasions either the word or the sentence in which it occurs is absent from the LXX. On three occasions it is rendered differently (Gen

תורה—νόμος.<sup>32</sup> Often, different stereotyped renderings were used in different translation units, as might be expected in such a heterogeneous composition as the LXX. Note, e.g., the transliteration of פלשתים—Φυλιστιειμ in the Torah and Joshua, as opposed to its translation by ἀλλόφυλοι in the later books of the LXX; cf. also the distribution of the various renderings of ה' צבאות in the books of the LXX.<sup>33</sup> In other cases, two or three stereotyped renderings appear simultaneously in one of the books of the LXX with no clear distinction in use or meaning, e.g., the main renderings of דבר in Exodus, viz., ῥῆμα and λόγος.

Renderings are characterized as “stereotyped” on the basis of a statistical analysis of their distribution in the LXX. This analysis pertains to the internal consistency within the individual books and their adherence to the general vocabulary of the LXX. These data are now available in the CATSS electronic database (see chapter 3.B excursus 2) as illustrated in the concordance of Jarick, *Ecclesiastes*. As a rule, this statistical analysis does not take the context of the words into consideration, because the translators themselves disregarded the context when using stereotyped equivalents. It is exactly this approach to the choice of equivalents that can be investigated statistically.

14:13 בעלי ברית—συνωμόται; 1 Kgs 11:11 ἐντολή; 2 Chr 16:3 הפּר בריתך—καὶ διασκέδασον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ) and once it has been read differently (2 Chr 23:1 כברית—εἰς οἶκον = בבית?). Conversely, διαθήκη represents almost exclusively ברית, and only in 6 places is it used for other Hebrew words: עדות (4×), דבר (1×), תורה (1×). The details have been culled from J. de Vuyst, “Oud en Nieuw Verbond” in *de Brief aan de Hebreëen* (Kampen, 1964), pp. 34–35.

32. The frequent fixation of the Hebrew–Greek equivalents in the LXX is remarkable in view of the relative richness of the Greek language; see, for example, J.H. Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache*, I–IV (Leipzig, 1867–86). Thus the concept “new” is expressed in Greek by various words (cf. Schmidt, *Synonymik*, II, pp. 94ff.), while in the LXX חדש is represented nearly exclusively by καινός. The same pertains to the usual representation of אח by ἀδελφός, etc. This phenomenon is the more surprising when one considers that most books of the LXX were rendered by different individuals, and that some translators at least could have been sensitive to the nuances of words both in Hebrew and Greek. Indeed, “free” translators varied their vocabulary more than “literal” translators, as can be seen from a comparison of Greek translations of parallel texts within the LXX, as well as a comparison of the LXX with Symmachus. Of interest, too, is a comparison of the LXX translation of Psalm 114 with that by John Milton in Greek epic verse (see D. Bush [ed.], *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton* [Boston, 1965], p. 140).

33. In Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets, this phrase has been rendered by κύριος παντοκράτωρ, in Isaiah by κύριος Σαβαωθ and elsewhere mainly by κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων. Cf. Thackeray, *Grammar*, pp. 7ff.; Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 315–318.

However, we must also dwell on another aspect of stereotyping. The majority of stereotyped renderings do not adequately cover *all* meanings of a given Hebrew word. Apparently undisturbed by the non-Greek nature of these renderings, when choosing stereotyped renderings, translators produced so-called “Hebraisms”, that is, Greek words, phrases or constructions that transfer characteristic Hebrew elements into Greek in disregard of Greek idiom (see pp. 92–94). The very existence of Hebraisms in *different* proportions in the books of the LXX shows that some translators were more inclined towards stereotyping than others or, to put it differently, that some translators refrained more than others from the practice of including Hebraistic (that is, non-Greek) elements in their translations. This difference between the books of the LXX justifies an investigation into the practice of stereotyping.

The degree of stereotyping apparent in the translation units of the LXX reflects their literalism. This characteristic can be expressed statistically on the basis of different gradations of consistency such as “the only rendering”, “the main rendering”, “one of two main renderings”, or in exact statistical terms, as in Jarick, *Ecclesiastes*. In this way one can investigate both the internal consistency of each individual translation unit and its relation to the vocabulary of the other books of the LXX. The advisability of such statistical analyses was suggested by E.A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden, 1964), pp. 184ff. See further the remarks by C.H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1935), p. 79; Bertram, “Sprachschatz” (see n. 30); Tov, “Dimensions”. For the practical application of this approach, see Tov–Wright, “Literalness” and the studies mentioned in Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 5 (“La LXX et l’informatique”).

Within this analysis, special attention should be paid to the etymologizing translation of Hebrew words belonging to one word-group (root) with Greek words also belonging to one word-group (see, e.g., the equivalences of the groups טוֹב—ἀγαθo-, רע—κακο-, צדק—δικαιο-, etc. and chapter 5.D excursus).

β. *The representation of the constituents of Hebrew words by separate Greek equivalents.* As a logical result of the adherence of the translators to a consistent representation of the Hebrew words in the translation (cf. § α), literal translators tended, wherever they could, to segment Hebrew words into meaningful elements, which were then represented by their individual Greek equivalents. For example, in the translation of בִּשְׁמֵעַךְ (2 Sam 5:24)—ἐν τῷ ἀκούσῃ σε, all the constituents of the Hebrew word are represented separately by their usual equivalents in the LXX. Here, the most striking

equivalent is that of -כ with *êv*, which has been transferred by analogy from the representation of the preposition -כ used with nouns. (For examples of similar renderings of verbal forms, see I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, AASF B 132, I [Helsinki, 1965], pp. 80ff.) The importance of segmentation for the analysis of translation techniques was stressed by Barr, *Literalism*, pp. 294–303.

γ. *Word-order*. Some translators adhered as much as possible to the word-order of MT, while others often deviated from it in conformity with the rules of the Greek language and their own literary taste. The degree of adherence to the word-order of MT in the various books of the LXX can be expressed statistically.<sup>34</sup>

δ. *Quantitative representation*. Partly as a result of the tendency towards stereotyping, literal translators did their utmost to represent each individual element in MT by one equivalent element in the translation. Others felt free to add clarifying elements<sup>35</sup> or not to represent elements that, in their view, were expressed by other words in the translation.<sup>36</sup> The latter type of translator often compressed two or more elements of MT into a single one and expanded one element into two or more, in accordance with his literary taste and the nature of the Greek language.<sup>37</sup>

The quantitative relationship between MT and the LXX can be expressed statistically (cf. B.G. Wright, “The Quantitative Representation of Elements: Evaluating ‘Literalism’ in the LXX”, in: Cox, *VI Congress*, pp. 311–335). The more literal translators aimed at a 1:1 representation of the words in MT.

ε. *Linguistic adequacy of lexical choices*. A fifth criterion for recognizing the literalness of translation units is the linguistic adequacy of lexical choices. However, because of its subjective nature, this criterion cannot be used profitably in the analysis of translation units.

The aim of the translation was to transfer the message of Hebrew Scripture into Greek. For many, if not most, translators, this aim demanded attention to the precise form and meaning of all words in the Hebrew–Aramaic

34. Some criteria have been outlined by D.W. Riddle, “The Logic of the Theory of Translation Greek”, *JBL* 51 (1932), pp. 13–30; J.M. Rife, “The Mechanics of Translation Greek”, *JBL* 52 (1933), pp. 244–252. See also Talmon, “Textual Study”, pp. 358ff. For a practical application of the study of word-order see the study of G. Marquis mentioned on p. 76.

35. For examples, see chapter 2.A.1.

36. For examples, see chapter 2.A.2.

37. For examples, see chapter 2.A.2.

*Vorlage*. Linguistic precision meant that exegetical elements lying beyond the mere understanding of the words were excluded from the translation.

Linguistic precision reflects the translator's intention to produce a literal translation, but it must be borne in mind that the translator's endeavor to provide a linguistically responsible translation depended upon his own understanding of the text, which often differs from the modern interpretation. Hence renderings that in our view are incorrect, such as translations based on Aramaic rather than Hebrew meanings (see p. 86), are nevertheless literal from the translator's viewpoint.

The use of linguistic principles in the choice of translation equivalents is necessarily subjective, for a rendering that for one translator was the best possible for a given word may have seemed inappropriate to another. Likewise, the modern evaluation of the linguistic background of the translations is subjective, for a rendering that according to one scholar reflects the translator's linguistic exegesis may be seen by another as reflecting content exegesis. It is not profitable to determine the degree of literalness of a given translation unit on the basis of linguistic exegesis, because this cannot be expressed statistically. In such cases it is preferable to employ the criterion of consistency. In fact, often the two criteria cannot be separated, because if a given rendering was used consistently in a certain translation unit, the translator probably regarded it as the most accurate rendering.

### 3. Literal and free translation units

The first four of the five criteria for literalness can be expressed statistically, and in this way it should be possible to describe the degree of literalness of individual translation units.<sup>38</sup> Literal translation units contain

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38. See the study of Nida quoted in n. 27. It must be admitted that few descriptions exist of the translation character of individual units in the LXX based on statistical data. The majority of these analyses are based on the scholar's *intuitive* understanding of the translation character. For example, if a scholar feels that lexical consistency rather than inconsistency characterizes a certain translation unit, that scholar provides several examples of the former, while adding a few examples of the latter as "exceptions". Hence in most of the extant analyses of the translation techniques employed in the books of the LXX, it is not the examples that count, but the scholar's intuitive description.

Some studies, however, do use statistical evidence, often with the aid of computers. The following come to mind: N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, III, Syntax* (Edinburgh, 1963)—this grammar, whose first two volumes were written by J.H. Moulton, contains valuable statistical data on the LXX, e.g., on the relationship between καί and δέ in the books of the LXX (*ibid.*, p. 332); R.A. Martin, *The Syntax of the Greek of Jeremiah, Part I: The Noun, Pronouns and Prepositions in*

a high percentage of stereotyped renderings; they follow the word-order of the Hebrew text closely; and they represent the elements of MT in quantitatively equal fashion. When the degree of literalness of a particular translation unit does not reach a certain level, that unit must be considered non-literal.

Non-literal translation units can be investigated from the viewpoint of the nature and frequency of the exegetical elements included in them. This information cannot be expressed statistically unless one takes the negative result of the analysis as a positive indication of the existence of exegetical elements.

Most exegetical elements in the translation—with the exclusion of certain types of linguistic exegesis—were derived from the context, but it should be stressed that the translators' concept of context was more comprehensive than ours. They referred not only to the relationship between the words in their immediate context but also to remote contexts. Furthermore, the translator might introduce any idea that the source text called to mind. These exegetical elements, as well as their frequency, give an idea of the nature of a given translation unit.

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*Their Case Constructions*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1957; id., "Some Syntactical Criteria of Translation Greek", *VT* 10 (1960), pp. 295–310; id., "Syntactical Evidence of Aramaic Sources in Acts i–xv", *NTS* 11 (1965), pp. 38–59; id., *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents*, SBLSCS 3 (1974); id., "Syntax Criticism of the LXX Additions of the Book of Esther", *JBL* 94 (1975), pp. 65–72; Y.-J. Min, *The Minuses and Pluses of the LXX Translation of Jeremiah as Compared with the Massoretic Text: Their Classification and Possible Origins*, Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1977); I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Der Gebrauch des Verbes ἔχειν", *VT* 28 (1978), pp. 92–99; R. Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semi-prepositions in the Septuagint*, AASE, Diss. Hum. Litt. 19 (Helsinki, 1979); J.H. Sailhamer (see p. 76); Tov–Wright, "Literalness"; Tov, "Infinitive Absolute" (see p. 77); J. Lust, "The Computer and the Hypothetic Translators of Ezekiel", in: *Actes du Premier Colloque Internationale Bible et Informatique: Le texte, Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgique) 2–3–4 septembre 1985* (Paris/Genève, 1986), pp. 265–274; B.G. Wright, "The Quantitative Representation of Elements: Evaluating 'Literalism' in the LXX", in: Cox, *VI Congress*, pp. 311–335; G. Marquis, "Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX, as Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel", *ibid.*, pp. 405–424; B.G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text*, SBLSCS 26 (Atlanta, GA, 1989); B.A. Nieuwoudt, *Aspects of the Translation Technique of the Septuagint: The Finite Verb in the Septuagint of Deuteronomy*, Ph.D. diss., University of Stellenbosch, 1992; P.J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, SBLSCS 38 (Atlanta, GA, 1995); K.H. Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Masoretic Text*, SBLDS 153 (Atlanta, GA, 1996).

It was pointed out at the beginning of this section that the analysis of translation technique is a requisite for the text-critical evaluation of the LXX. For this purpose, solid studies of the relative literalness of the individual translation units are needed. This should be regarded as a minimal rather than a maximal requirement. For in addition to a consideration of literalness of the units, one needs thorough analyses of specific phenomena both within the individual units and in the LXX as a whole. These two types of analysis supplement each other.

The above outline presents background material for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX (chapter 3). Indeed, if the necessary studies on various aspects of the translation technique of the individual units were available, the task of retroverting would be much easier than it is today. Although the retroversion of individual elements is possible, it often depends more on intuition than on solid background information.

Of the many analyses of the individual books of the LXX that are listed in § 39 of the *Classified Bibliography* and in Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 29, some are more helpful than others where the literalness/freedom of the translation is concerned. The reader is also referred to the very short descriptions of the translation character of the individual books in Thackeray, *Grammar*, pp. 13ff.; R.A. Kraft, *IDBS*, s.v. "Septuagint", pp. 813–814; and Bogaert, "Septante", cols. 576–650. A somewhat more detailed description, but still in generalized terms, is found in Roberts, *Text*, pp. 181–187.

Although the character of the books of the LXX cannot be described in a few words, it would not be fair to the reader to withhold a few generalized characterizations based on previously published analyses as well as on our own investigations. They are as incomplete as those mentioned above, but for the benefit of the discussion in the following chapters they are included here.

The majority of the books of the LXX fall somewhere between the characterizations "free" and "literal"; that is, they are either relatively free or relatively literal. Some translations are free and even paraphrastic, e.g., Isaiah, Job, Proverbs, Esther and Daniel.<sup>39</sup> Literal translations include

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39. Is it a coincidence that these books and not others were rendered freely? The relevance of content considerations in the choice of a translation style should not be ruled out, but it would be hard to press this point. Thus, there seems to be no reason for applying a freer approach to Joshua than to the other historical books. Nor is there any explanation, it seems, as to why Isaiah was rendered rather freely, while the other prophetic books were rendered rather literally. See Tov, *HB, GB, and Qumran*, pp. 331–332.

Judges (B text), Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, the sections ascribed to *kaige*-Th (see p. 17), i.e., 2 Sam 11:1–1 Kgs 2:11, 1 Kings 22–2 Kings 25, Ruth, Canticles, Lamentations, as well as the translation of Ecclesiastes that is ascribed to Aquila. For a more detailed analysis on the basis of some statistical evidence, see Tov–Wright, “Literalness”.

Finally, the reader can test the criteria for analyzing literal and free renderings by comparing the translation of 2 Kgs 19:30–32 (literal) with the parallel translation of Isa 37:31–33 (relatively free). The two Hebrew texts are identical in MT.

2 Kgs 19:30–32 (= Isa 37:31–33)

30	ויספה פליטת בית יהודה הנשארה שרש למטה ועשה פרי למעלה
31	כי מירושלם תצא שארית ופליטה מהר ציון קנאת ה' צבאות (Q) תעשה זאת
32	לכן כה אמר ה' אל מלך אשור לא יבא אל העיר הזאת ולא יורה שם חץ ולא יקדמנה מגן ולא ישפך עליה סללה

LXX 2 Kgs 19:30–32

30	καὶ προσθήσει τὸ διασεσφσμένον οἴκου Ιουδα τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ῥίζαν κάτω καὶ ποιήσει καρπὸν ἄνω
31	ὅτι ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ ἐξελεύσεται κατάλειμμα καὶ ἀνασφζόμενος ἐξ ὄρους Σιων ὁ ζῆλος κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων ποιήσει τοῦτο

LXX Isa 37:31–33

31	καὶ ἔσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ φύησουσι ῥίζαν κάτω καὶ ποιήσουσι σπέρμα ἄνω
32	ὅτι ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ ἔσονται οἱ καταλελειμμένοι καὶ οἱ σφζόμενοι ἐξ ὄρους Σιων ὁ ζῆλος κυρίου σαβωθ ποιήσει ταῦτα

	<i>LXX 2 Kgs 19:30–32</i>		<i>LXX Isa 37:31–33</i>
32	οὐχ οὕτως τάδε λέγει κύριος πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ οὐ τοξεύσει ἐκεῖ βέλος  καὶ οὐ προφθάσει αὐτήν θυρεὸς καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκχέη πρὸς αὐτὴν πρόσχωμα	33	διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οὐδὲ μὴ βάλῃ ἐπ’ αὐτήν βέλος οὐδὲ μὴ βάλῃ ἐπ’ αὐτήν θυρεὸν οὐδὲ μὴ κυκλώσῃ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν χάρακα

The translation of 2 Kings (*kaige*-Th) complies with the criteria for literalness described above. All renderings attempt to reflect their Hebrew equivalents as precisely as possible (mainly with their stereotyped equivalents), and in addition, the word-order follows MT. To give some examples:

v. 30	יִסִּי	—	προστίθῃμι
	בֵּית	—	οἶκος
	מִלְמַל	—	κάτω
	שֹׂאֵר	—	ὑπολείπω
	שֹׁרֵץ	—	ρίζα
	פֶּרִי	—	καρπός
	לַמַּעַל	—	ἄνω
v. 31	יִצְא	—	ἐξέρχομαι
	קִנְיָה	—	ζῆλος
v. 32	קָדַם	—	προφθάνω
	מִגֵּן	—	θυρεός
	שֹׁפֵךְ	—	ἐκχέω

On the other hand, in Isaiah the lexical choices reflect their Hebrew counterparts with several non-stereotyped renderings,<sup>40</sup> while some words

40. Some differences between Isaiah and 2 Kings deriving from differences between the translators' Hebrew text(s) are not discussed here: κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων in 2 Kgs 19:31 agrees with the *Qere* (צְבָאוֹת 'ה) and not the *Ketib* ('ה). οὐχ οὕτως in 2 Kgs 19:32 represents MT לֹכֵן as לֹכֵן(א); cf. Isa 16:6 MT and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, p. 171.

are added and others omitted. On the whole, the translation of this section is characterized by exegetical homogenization:

- v. 31     ויספה—καὶ ἔσονται (cf. v. 32).  
הנשארה . . . פליטת (the remnant . . . which has been left)—οἱ καταλελειμμένοι (those who have been left). The Hebrew phrase was condensed in Greek into one word (which also renders שארית in the next verse).  
בית יהודה (the house of Judah)—ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ (in Judah); note that the word “house” is not represented in the LXX. Note further that in the translation, the whole verse is phrased in the plural.  
שרש למטה (literally: root downward)—φυήσουσι ῥίζαν κάτω (shall grow [their] root downward); the addition of the verb was necessitated by the translation of ויספה as an intransitive verb.
- v. 32     תצא—ἔσονται (cf. v. 31).  
שארית—οἱ καταλελειμμένοι (the same word was used in the previous verse for הנשארה . . . פליטת).
- v. 33     שם—ἐπ’ αὐτήν (influenced by the next two stichs).  
יקדמנה מגן (will go before it with a shield)—βάλῃ ἐπ’ αὐτήν θυρεόν (will cast a shield upon it)—the choice of equivalents was influenced by the preceding hemistich. Note also that the last three hemistichs start with οὐδὲ μή and contain the words ἐπ’ αὐτήν.  
ישפך (will cast up)—κυκλώσῃ (will surround).

For a similar comparison of other parallel translations, see Swete, *Introduction*, p. 316.

#### F. Understanding the LXX

Before embarking upon any analysis of the exegesis of the translation and its text-critical use, one has to understand its meaning. This stage is so fundamental that it hardly needs to be mentioned. Nevertheless one needs to remember that the LXX (as well as the other translations of Hebrew Scripture) can be understood in different ways. It is not always easy to understand the syntax of the translation and the meaning of individual words, as illustrated by the following examples:

Jer 10:17	MT	אספי מארץ כנעה collect your כנעה from the ground
	LXX	συνήγαγεν ἔξωθεν τὴν ὑπόστασίν σου he gathered from outside your ὑπόστασις

The exact meaning of ὑπόστασις in the present context is not clear. If it is taken as “property” (*NETS*: “substance”), the translation may reflect etymological exegesis of כנעה on the basis of כנעני—“merchant” (for a similar understanding, cf. Sym τὴν ἐμπορ[ε]ίαν σου and T סחורותיך). If, however, ὑπόστασις means “hope”, the translation has to be regarded as contextual exegesis (cf. the LXX of Ezek 19:5).

Jer 32(39):36	MT	נתנה ביד מלך בבל) בחרב וברעב ובדבר with sword, famine and pestilence
	LXX	ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν ἀποστολῇ with sword, famine and ἀποστολή

The equivalence דָּבַר—ἀποστολή is unexpected, as the Hebrew word is almost always translated by θάνατος; furthermore, the meaning of the Greek word itself is not clear. Usually ἀποστολή is used in an active sense (“sending off” or the like), but here it probably has a passive meaning (“exile”, as suggested in the *Supplement* to LSJ, “expulsion” as in Muraoka, *Lexicon*, “dispatch” as in *NETS*, or “pestilence sent by God”, as suggested by Schleusner, *Thesaurus*). The meaning of ἀποστολή in this context has not been established unequivocally, so that it is not easy to determine its text-critical evaluation (cf. Tov, *Jeremiah*, p. 132 n. 18).

Jer 31(38):22	MT	כי ברא ה' חדשה בארץ נקבה תסובב גבר for the LORD has created a new thing on the earth—a woman surrounds a man
	LXX	ὅτι ἔκτισε κύριος σωτηρίαν εἰς καταφύτευσιν καινήν, ἐν ᾗ σωτηρία περιελεύσονται ἄνθρωποι for the LORD has created salvation for a new planting, in which salvation (?) people shall go about (?) ( <i>NETS</i> : in which people will go about in safety)

Both MT and the LXX are difficult, but in MT at least the grammatical structure can be understood, while the syntax of the LXX remains difficult.

The words ἐν ᾗ σωτηρίᾳ are either connected with the preceding sentence (thus the above translation) or they begin a new one. These difficulties may be due to secondary elements in the LXX (glosses?). In addition, the precise meaning of καταφύτευσιν and περιελεύσονται is not clear.

When difficulties such as these are encountered, it is advisable to turn to the following tools:

### 1. Lexica

*Electronic tools:* The lexica of LSJ and the *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* are included in *Accordance*; see paragraph H below.

The best modern lexicon of the Greek language is still LSJ together with its *Supplement* by E.A. Barber (Oxford, 1968) and *Revised Supplement* by P.G.W. Glare (Oxford, 1996). As a general lexicon LSJ covers all stages of the Greek language, and among other things it provides a great deal of information on the LXX. This broad coverage, however, is often problematic, for the editors of this lexicon are frequently unaware of the special nature of LXX lexicography. They created many new meanings of LXX words by uncritically ascribing to them the meaning of their Hebrew counterpart in MT, even in cases where the LXX reflects a different Hebrew word, or the translator's exegesis, or an inner-Greek corruption. For one such example, see p. 155, and see further in detail G.B. Caird, "Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint, I, II", *JThSt* NS 19 (1968), pp. 453–475; 20 (1969), pp. 21–40; R. Renehan, "Greek Lexicographical Notes: Fifth Series", *Glotta* 50 (1972), pp. 38–60; id., *Greek Lexicographical Notes: A Critical Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones*, Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben, Hypomnemata 45, 74 (Göttingen, 1975, 1982).

Beyond LSJ the following sources are helpful as lexicographical tools:

1. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain/Paris/Walpole, MA, 2009). This lexicon can be used profitably for all books of the LXX.
2. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (ed. J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie; rev. ed.; Stuttgart, 2003). This helpful lexicon provides brief lexicographical descriptions.
3. F. Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular* (Göttingen, 1989)—very concise.
4. G.A. Chamberlain, *The Greek of the Septuagint—A Supplemental Lexicon* (Peabody, MA, 2011)—concise.

Likewise, much valuable information can be drawn from Schleusner, *Thesaurus* (see chapter 3.B excursus 1), lexica of the New Testament, especially W.F. Arndt–F.W. Gingrich, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament* (3rd ed.; Chicago/London, 2001) providing an English translation of the fourth edition of the dictionary by W. Bauer (6th ed.: Berlin, 1988); J.P.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources* (London, 1930), and many monographs listed in E. Tov, *A Classified Bibliography of Lexical and Grammatical Studies on the Language of the Septuagint and Its Revisions* (3rd ed.; Jerusalem, 1982); *Classified Bibliography*, § 15c; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 12; Bogaert, “Septante”, cols. 555–559; and M. Harl in: *Bible grecque*, pp. 223–266 (“La langue de la Septante”).

On LXX lexicography in general, see J. Lust, “Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint”, *JSOT* 59 (1993), pp. 109–120; T. Muraoka (ed.), *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, SBLSCS 28 (Atlanta, GA, 1990); J. Joosten, “The Knowledge and Use of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period: Qumran and the Septuagint”, in: T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde (eds.), *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, STDJ 36; Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2000), pp. 115–130; id., “Biblical Hebrew as Mirrored in the Septuagint: The Question of Influence from Spoken Hebrew”, *Textus* 21 (2002), pp. 1–19; and earlier studies mentioned there.

## 2. Grammar

Electronic tools: see chapter 3.B excursus 2.

The best extant grammar is still Thackeray, *Grammar* (phonology and morphology only). See further R. Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta. Laut- und Wortlehre* (Göttingen, 1907; repr. 1979); R.A. Martin, *The Syntax of the Greek of Jeremiah* (see n. 38); Walters, *Text*; G. Walser, *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue: An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, *Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia* 8 (Lund/Stockholm, 2001). The only complete, but very brief, grammar is F.C. Conybeare and St. G. Stock, *Selections from the Septuagint* (Boston, 1905; repr. Grand Rapids, MI, 1980), pp. 25–100. Further grammatical studies are listed in the above-mentioned bibliography by Tov, in the *Classified Bibliography*, § 15b, and in Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 12. Very helpful is the *Analytical Lexicon to the Septuagint: Expanded Edition Guide* (Peabody, MA/Stuttgart, 2009) by B.A. Taylor. This tool contains a parsing guide to

all the words in the LXX together with word definitions. A similar parsing guide is also included in the CATSS database.

### 3. Translations

*Electronic tools:* <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/>; <http://www.septuaginta.forschung.de>; see further: <http://www.kalvesmaki.com/LXX/>; <http://biblical-studies.ca/lxx.html>

When in doubt about the meaning of the LXX, one can consult one of the versions of the LXX, as long as one bears in mind the subjective nature of these translations. The ancient translations (Old Latin, Syro-Palestinian, Syro-Hexapla, as well as the Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopic translations) are sometimes of help, as well as the Latin translations in the Polyglot editions of the 16th and 17th centuries, but modern translations are usually more helpful. Especially recommended are the following translations: A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title* (Oxford, 2007) = *NETS*; W. Kraus and M. Karrer (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart, 2009). Also helpful is the French translation and commentary *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1986–); C. Dogniez and M. Harl (eds.), *Le Pentateuque—La Bible d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 2001). See further the translations listed in the *Classified Bibliography*, § 3b and in Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 6c. The modern translations are accompanied by a substantial amount of studies, e.g. R.J.V. Hiebert (ed.), *“Translation is Required”: The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, SBLSCS 56 (Atlanta, 2010).

### G. Editions

*Electronic tools* for the LXX: The edition of Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (without variants), very slightly differing from Rahlfs–Hanhart, *Septuaginta* is available in *Accordance*, *BibleWorks*, *Logos*, *SESB*, and many additional programs. For all the available electronic resources, see § H below and <http://www.kalvesmaki.com/LXX/>

*Electronic tools* for MT: *Accordance*, *BibleWorks*, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*, *Global Jewish Database (Responsa Project)*, *Gramcord for Windows*, *Jewish Classics Library*, *Libroi*, *Logos*, *Mechon Mamre*, *SESB*, *Snunit*, and *WordSearch* include biblical modules based on either codex L or BHS with certain editorial liberties (e.g. the determining of the vocalization of the *Ketib* words in order to enable word searches). For details,

see Tov, “Electronic Resources” 2003, 2008. The Bar-Ilan database *Tokhnit “HaKeter”–Ma’agar HaTanakh*, part of the *Miqra’ot Gedolot “HaKeter”* project, is based on codex A, which differs only slightly from L, but for students of grammar these differences are important.

*Electronic tools* for critical editions: Details in the *apparatus* of BHS can be searched in modules in *Accordance*, *BibleWorks*, *Logos*, and *SESB*. That of BHQ can be searched in *SESB* 2 and 3.

The study of the LXX is best conducted on the basis of the “Göttingen editions” (see p. 12) and Rahlfs–Hanhart, *Septuaginta*, both representing an “eclectic” text (see p. 3). Each volume in the Göttingen series contains a detailed critical apparatus in which the witnesses are divided into groups and subgroups, so that readers can find their way through the maze of manifold variants. In books in which there are no Göttingen editions, a wealth of variants is included in: A.E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H.St.J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus* (Cambridge, 1906–40), generally known as “the Cambridge Septuagint”. This series contains the books Genesis–Nehemiah, as well as Esther, Judith, and Tobit in four volumes, according to codex B, and where that manuscript is lacking, it has been supplemented by either manuscript A or S.

For exact work on the text of MT, one uses the manuscript representing the most authentic representation of the Ben-Asher vocalization system, that is codex L for the *BH* series and the Aleppo codex for the *HUB*.

#### H. Electronic tools

Since the end of the 20th century, the study of textual criticism has been aided greatly by computer-assisted tools and research. Such tools consist of flexible, interactive databases and programs that aid the researcher in obtaining and analyzing data, while computer-assisted research presents non-flexible results of investigations that were compiled with the aid of machine-readable data. It is probably true to say that involvement in textual criticism is virtually impossible in the 21st century without the aid of electronic tools. An ever-increasing number of Bible computer modules and databases are becoming available and the possibilities for using them profitably within existing programs are expanding. This increasing availability enables several types of data retrieval, and allows scholars to access data and formulate conclusions that would not have been possible with the conventional research methods.

Throughout this monograph electronic tools are mentioned, such as in the previous paragraph. See E. Tov, "A Computerized Database for Septuagint Research", in: id., *The Greek-Hebrew Bible* (1999), pp. 31–51; E. Tov, "Electronic Resources Relevant to the Textual Criticism of Hebrew Scripture," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 8 (2003) [<http://purl.org/TC>]; id., "The Use of Computers in Biblical Research", in: id., *HB, GB, and Qumran* (2008), pp. 228–246; R.H. Worth, Jr., *Biblical Studies on the Internet: A Resource Guide* (Jefferson, NC/London, 2002); <http://biblical-studies.ca/lxx.html>.

### I. The evaluation of the LXX in biblical research

The differences between the LXX and MT derive either from Hebrew variants in the translators' *Vorlage*, from the translators' exegesis and techniques, or from inner-translation developments. Cappellus, *Critica Sacra* (1650), pp. 384–385 was the first scholar to indicate that details in the versions, especially the LXX, sometimes reflected the "autograph" of a biblical book better than MT. In subsequent centuries, the value of the LXX for biblical research<sup>41</sup> was viewed in different ways, with excessive stress placed either on the translators' exegesis, techniques, and theology or on the differences between their Hebrew text and MT.<sup>42</sup>

There certainly was (and still is) a tendency, even among critical scholars, to depreciate the value of the LXX by ascribing most of its deviations to the translators' exegesis and techniques. This was partly influenced by religious<sup>43</sup> and other prejudices, which rejected the possibility that the underlying text of the LXX sometimes differed from MT. More often such a possibility was simply not entertained. Thus in ancient times Origen and

41. This issue should be separated from the theological discussion about the authority of either the LXX or MT in the Church that preoccupied the Church Fathers as well as the researchers of the last five centuries. See n. 45. Our discussion refers merely to scholars who analyzed the Hebrew Bible philologically.

42. The evaluation of the LXX in scholarship has been summarized by the following scholars: E.F.C. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, I (Göttingen, 1797), *passim*; D.F. Keil, *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*, translated by G.C.M. Douglas, II (2nd ed.; Edinburgh, 1870; repr. Grand Rapids, MI, 1952), pp. 306–309; E. König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Bonn, 1893), p. 116; Cross, *ALQ*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 130–131.

43. Cf., for example, the *Formula consensus ecclesiae helveticae* (1676) which declared the absolute authority and inspiration even of the vowel-points of MT and condemned the acceptance of readings from the LXX. See A.F. Kilpatrick, *Expositor* V, 16 (1896), p. 269.

Jerome, who analyzed many differences between the LXX and the Hebrew text of their times, were not aware of the possibility that the LXX reflected readings different from their Hebrew text.<sup>44</sup> The views of those who rejected the LXX in modern times have been summarized by E. König (see n. 42).

On the other hand, there have been periods when a tendency towards extreme reliance upon the LXX coincided with a negative judgment of the value of MT. In the seventeenth century this approach was represented, *inter alia*, by Cappellus, *Critica Sacra* and Vossius, *De LXX interpretibus* (The Hague, 1661).<sup>45</sup> For the nineteenth century we mention the oft-quoted instruction with which F. Hitzig was accustomed to open his lectures on the exegesis of the Bible: “Meine Herren, haben Sie eine Septuaginta? wenn nicht, so verkaufen Sie Alles, was Sie haben und kaufen sich eine Septuaginta!”<sup>46</sup> Hitzig’s approach is also reflected in his commentaries on the books of the Bible.

Ever since the nineteenth century there have been scholars who, in their evaluation of the LXX, took the middle road between recognizing Hebrew variants and the translators’ exegesis. The reader is referred to the discussions mentioned on p. 49, especially the remarks of Wellhausen, *Samuel* (both in the introduction and in the commentary), and Driver, *Samuel* which are still the soundest approaches to this issue.

The understanding and use of the LXX as a tool in biblical criticism were significantly advanced in the middle of the twentieth century by the finds of Hebrew scrolls at Qumran. It was then recognized that many of the Hebrew readings (variants) tentatively reconstructed from the LXX did indeed exist as readings in Hebrew scrolls from Qumran. See especially G.R. Driver, “Hebrew Scrolls”, *JThSt* 2 (1951), pp. 17–30; F.M. Cross, “A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underly-

44. Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, II, VII, 38, inclined towards an even more extreme view when claiming that “the Greek words used corresponded literally with the Chaldean (that is, the Hebrew), exactly suited to the things they indicated” (F.H. Colson’s translation in *The Loeb Classical Library*, VI [Cambridge, MA, 1959]).

45. For a thorough discussion of the evaluation of the LXX in this period, see J.C.H. Lebram, “Ein Streit um die hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta” in: Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 21–63; L. Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869).

46. See J.J. Kneucker (ed.), *F. Hitzig’s Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie . . . des Alten Testaments* (Karlsruhe, 1880), p. 19, n. 1 (quoted by Seeligmann, *JEOL*, p. 381 = id., *Isaiah* 2004, p. 60).

ing the Septuagint", *BASOR* 132 (1953), pp. 15–16, esp. p. 25; id., *ALQ*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 130–131; E. Tov, "The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Understanding of the LXX", in: *Manchester Symposium*, pp. 11–47; id., *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 108–109, 329; P. Hugo, *Les deux visages d'Élie: Texte massorétique et Septante dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 17–18*, OBO 217 (Fribourg/Göttingen, 2005), pp. 5–29. For an analysis, see chapter 6.B.1.

The agreements between the Hebrew scrolls from Qumran and the Jewish-Greek translation of the LXX from Palestine and Alexandria (see chapter 6.A) enhanced the credibility of the LXX, although there inevitably continued to be a great deal of argument over matters of detail. The LXX has definitely been recognized by most biblical scholars as a tool that provides important information for the textual criticism of the Bible. Additionally, it has also been recognized as containing data that contribute significantly to the literary criticism (see chapter 8) and exegesis of the Bible, as well as to the study of biblical Hebrew.<sup>47</sup>

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47. See some of the studies mentioned in *Classified Bibliography*, §§ 15–16; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, §§ 12–13; above, p. 33 and below chapter 5, n. 21; and more systematically T. Muraoka, "Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Lexicography", in: Cox, *VII Congress*, pp. 205–222; id., "The Semantics of the LXX and Its Role in Clarifying Ancient Hebrew Semantics", *AbrN Supplement Series* 4 (1995), pp. 19–32.



## PART I

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*The Reconstruction of the  
Hebrew Text  
Underlying the LXX:  
Possibilities and Impossibilities*



## CHAPTER 2

### WHEN TO RECONSTRUCT VARIANTS?

The present monograph deals with the text-critical value of the LXX in biblical research. This investigation is concerned mainly with the reconstruction of variants reflected in the LXX and their evaluation. Since it is as important to know *when* to reconstruct variants as to know *how* to reconstruct them, these two questions are treated in the present chapter and in chapter 3, although it is realized that in practice the two issues can hardly be separated. One often realizes that a given element in the LXX must have been based on a Hebrew reading (variant) which differed from MT and that this reading should be reconstructed as a particular Hebrew word. Practice has shown that it is as difficult to know *when* to reconstruct a variant as *how* to reconstruct that variant.

Knowing when to reconstruct variants depends on an intuitive understanding of the nature of the translation technique of a particular translation unit and this procedure is very complicated. For an analysis of this issue, the notion of *deviation* must be introduced first. A deviation is any detail in the translation that differs from a literal rendering of the parent text. In this monograph “deviation” is understood in the widest sense, including the smallest dissimilarities, because the LXX also reflects Hebrew readings that differ from MT in *minutiae*. Cf. Hatch, *Essays*, pp. 1–35, Barr, *Comparative Philology*, chapter X, and above p. 9.

The first step in a text-critical analysis of the LXX is to search for deviations from MT, with the ultimate aim of tracing these back to Hebrew readings that differed from MT. This is a difficult process, because not every deviation in the LXX reflects a different Hebrew reading from MT. Some parts of the LXX were presumably based on a Hebrew text similar to MT, but due to the very nature of the translation procedure and to the manuscript transmission of the LXX, discrepancies arose. Such internal factors are discussed here.

There are two main factors leading to deviations from MT that have no connection with the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. First, the LXX, like most other translations, reflects types of exegesis which introduced elements that

deviate from a literal representation of the Hebrew text. Secondly, in the course of the manuscript transmission of the LXX new readings developed in its textual witnesses, often caused by scribal corruption or by contamination with other manuscripts. Such Greek readings appear to be deviations from MT, but actually they are irrelevant to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, since they do not represent the original text of the LXX and therefore do not bear on its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Chapter 3 deals with deviations from MT in the LXX that presumably presuppose a variant Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, cautious scholarship attempts to delay the assumption of underlying variants as long as possible. When analyzing the LXX translation for text-critical purposes, one should first attempt to view deviations as the result of the inner-translational factors described here. Only after all possible translational explanations have been dismissed should one address the assumption that the translation represents a Hebrew reading different from MT.

The first step in this analysis must be to determine the relationship between all elements in the LXX and MT; in other words, the equivalences between words in the LXX and MT must be isolated first. These equivalences are formal—that is, one determines which element(s) in MT is (are) represented by (a given) element(s) in the LXX.

In most books of the LXX, the sentences can be subdivided into units corresponding to elements in MT. Where additions occur, their corresponding place within the sentence in MT can generally be determined easily. An uncomplicated example is found in the first verse of Genesis:

LXX	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν
MT	בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ

The following equivalents can be established:

LXX		MT
ἐν	=	ב-
ἀρχῇ	=	ראשית
ἐποίησεν	=	ברא
ὁ θεὸς	=	אלהים
τὸν οὐρανὸν	=	את השמים
καὶ	=	-ו
τὴν γῆν	=	את הארץ

The same procedure can be applied to the somewhat more complicated second verse of Genesis:

LXX	ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος
MT	והארץ היתה תהו ובהו וחשך על פני תהום ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים

The following equivalents can be established:

LXX		MT
δὲ	=	-ו
ἡ . . . γῆ	=	הארץ
ἦν	=	היתה
ἀόρατος (invisible)	=	תהו
καὶ	=	-ו
ἀκατασκεύαστος (unformed)	=	בהו
καὶ	=	-ו
σκότος	=	חשך
ἐπάνω	=	על פני
τῆς ἀβύσσου	=	תהום
καὶ	=	-ו
πνεῦμα	=	רוח
θεοῦ	=	אלהים
ἐπεφέρετο	=	מרחפת
ἐπάνω	=	על פני
τοῦ ὕδατος	=	המים

Even in a more complex case, Esth 1:8, the individual equivalents can be identified well:

- LXX      ὁ δὲ πότος οὗτος οὐ κατὰ προκείμενον νόμον  
 ἐγένετο οὕτως δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπέταξεν  
 τοῖς οἰκονόμοις ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων  
 And this banquet was not according to the appointed  
 law, but so the king would have it and he charged the  
 stewards to perform his will and that of the people.
- MT      והשתיה כדת אין אנס כי כן יסד המלך על כל רב ביתו  
 לעשות כרצון איש ואיש  
 And the drinking was according to the law, none  
 would compel, for so the king had enjoined upon  
 every officer of his house, to do according to the  
 inclination of every man.

Here, the LXX probably does not represent a variant Hebrew text, but rather the differences between the LXX and MT derive from the translator's contextual exegesis and his special translation options. The following equivalents can be determined in this verse on the basis of equivalents used elsewhere in the LXX:

LXX		MT
δὲ	=	ו-
ὁ . . . πότος	=	השתיה
οὗτος	=	—
κατὰ . . . νόμον	=	כדת
οὐ . . . ἐγένετο	=	אין
προκείμενον	=	אנס
δὲ	=	כי
οὕτως	=	כן
ἠθέλησεν . . . καὶ ἐπέταξεν	=	יסד
ὁ βασιλεὺς	=	המלך
τοῖς	=	על
— οἰκονόμοις	=	כל רב ביתו
ποιῆσαι	=	לעשות
—	=	כ-
τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ	=	רצון
καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων	=	איש ואיש

The translation contains exegetical elements, *inter alia*, in the additions (οὐτος, ἠθέλησεν/ἐπέταξεν) and omissions (כל, כ-). In the terms outlined on pp. 18–22, the translation of this verse in Esther should be considered “free”.

The examples analyzed above show that for a correct identification of the equivalents of the LXX and MT, their meanings need not necessarily be identical or even overlap. One merely needs to indicate which Hebrew or Aramaic element or word (usually in MT) the translator had in mind when using a specific Greek rendering. For this purpose it is helpful if the scholar can explain the precise relationship between words in the LXX and MT, but this is not a *conditio sine qua non*, because the limited purpose of the investigation is the determining of Greek–Hebrew equivalents to be used for text-critical purposes. In the following example, most of the words of MT are somehow reflected in the translation, but others were read differently by the translator, as indicated below. Remarks on these equivalents are recorded in the column entitled Notes.

## Jer 2:23

LXX		MT	Notes
πῶς	=	איך	
ἐρεῖς	=	תאמרי	
οὐκ	=	לא	
ἐμιάνθην	=	נטמאתי	
καὶ ὁπίσω	=	אחרי	free addition of καί or reflection of ואחרי (dittography? [cf. p. 55])
τῆς Βααλ	=	הבעלים	singular in the LXX (also in S) <sup>a</sup>
οὐκ ἐπορεύθην	=	לא הלכתי	
ἴδε	=	ראי	
τὰς ὁδούς σου	=	דרךך	plural in LXX (also in V, T, and S)
ἐν τῷ	=	בגיא <sup>b</sup>	
πολυανδρείῳ			
καὶ γινῶθι	=	דעי	free addition of καί
τί	=	מה	
ἐποίησας	=	עשית	
ὁψέ	=	בכרה	possibly based on a root בכר (to do something early, to bear a first child), explained antithetically as “late”

## Jer 2:23

LXX		MT	Notes
φωνή αὐτῆς	=	קִלָּה	read: קִלָּה (cf. S: בקלכי)
ὠλόλυξε	=	משרכת	possibly read: משדדת
τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς	=	דרכיה	connected in the LXX with the next verse (v. 24)

a. On the feminine form of this word, see A. Dillmann, “Über Baal mit dem weiblichen Artikel”, *Monatsber. der Kön. Preuss. Ak. der Wiss.* (Berlin, 1881), pp. 601–620.

b. The same equivalent occurs in Jer 19:2, 6; Ezek 39:11; cf. Walters, *Text*, p. 179.

The identification of Greek words with Hebrew equivalents is based on a reconstruction of the translators’ intentions, so Greek–Hebrew equivalents need not be equal from a quantitative point of view. Thus, one Greek word may reflect two Hebrew words, two Greek words may reflect one Hebrew word, etc., as elsewhere in the LXX:

דמה כאבן	=	ἀπολιθόω	Exod 15:16
נשא תפלה	=	δέομαι	Isa 37:4
קנה	=	εἰς κτήσιν παραλαμβάνω	Jer 32(39):7
אין חפץ בו	=	ἄχρηστος	Hos 8:8
התפלא	=	δεινῶς ὀλέκω	Job 10:16
צדק	=	οἶομαι δίκαιος εἶναι	Job 11:2
עשה מלאכת שדה	=	γεωργέω	1 Chr 27:26

When analyzing the text-critical value of deviations from MT in the LXX, one constantly oscillates between the assumption of inner-Septuagintal factors (exegesis and textual corruption) and underlying Hebrew variants. This problem is the focus of the text-critical analysis of the LXX.<sup>1</sup>

The reader should realize that the more one knows about the nature of the translation, and the more thoroughly inner-translational deviations are analyzed, the less one is inclined to ascribe translational deviations to He-

1. For text-critical purposes it is not enough to point to exegetical elements in the translation; one should attempt to determine whether this exegesis derived from the translator or his *Vorlage*. Lists of differences between MT and the LXX that do not distinguish between inner-translational deviations and possible underlying variants therefore are of little value for textual criticism. For one such list, see Ch. Heller, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 31–46.

brew variants. Many injudicious retroversions of variants could have been avoided by a better analysis of the translators' practices.

A cautious approach to the LXX along these lines has been outlined by Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxviii:

... In the use of an Ancient Version for the purposes of textual criticism, there are *three* precautions which must always be observed: (1) we must reasonably assure ourselves that we possess the Version itself in its original integrity; (2) we must eliminate such variants as have the appearance of originating merely with the translator; (3) the text represented by the remainder, when we are able to recover it, which will be that of the MS. (or MSS.) used by the translator, we must then compare carefully, in the light of the considerations just stated, with the existing Hebrew text, in order to determine on which side the superiority lies.

For remarks along the same lines, see Wellhausen, *Samuel*, pp. 1ff.; Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory"; Barr, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 238–272; and in less detail: W.H. Green, *General Introduction to the Old Testament, The Text* (New York, 1899), pp. 167ff.; Margolis, "Scope", pp. 21ff.; Katz, "Septuagintal Studies", pp. 197ff.; H.M. Orlinsky, "Current Progress and Problems in Septuagint Research", in: H.R. Willoughby (ed.), *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow* (Chicago, 1947), pp. 149ff.

If, as suggested here, the notion of deviations from MT in the LXX is taken in its widest sense, the majority of them are derived from the translators' exegesis and techniques and from inner-translational developments (mainly scribal corruptions). Thus a detailed knowledge of the textual condition of the LXX as well as of the translators' exegesis is a *conditio sine qua non* for the text-critical use of the LXX. From a theoretical point of view, the textual condition should be dealt with first; but, since more deviations derive from exegesis than from textual corruption, we begin with the issue of exegesis.

A fully-fledged consideration of the problems connected with these issues would require two additional monographs. The present chapter is accordingly limited to an outline of the major problems, illustrated by some examples.

#### A. Exegesis

It has become commonplace to say that all translations reflect exegesis, but a correct understanding of these exegetical elements necessitates a specific description of their nature. These elements may be divided into linguistic and contextual exegesis. Every translation reflects linguistic

exegesis, which is an integral part of the act of translation. This exegesis involves the grammatical identification of all words (especially forms of verbs and nouns) in the source language as well as their semantic interpretation. On the other hand, not every translation contains additional forms of exegesis. A translation like Aquila's, for example, reflects mainly linguistic exegesis, since Aquila was interested only in the linguistic identification of the Hebrew words and did not introduce any exegetical elements into this translation. This tendency is visible in his choice of equivalents that was stereotyped throughout the translation, irrespective of the context.

Admittedly, the translation of Aquila is unique, but within the canon of the LXX there are also several translation units that are remarkably consistent in their choice of equivalents. That is to say, their lexical choices were less influenced by the context than were those of other translation units.

Leaving aside the linguistic exegesis found in all translation units, we now turn to other forms of exegesis. In a way, all forms of exegesis might be called "contextual exegesis", because the translators' concept of "context" was wider than ours. Translators created relationships between words not only when they occurred in the immediate context, but also when they occurred in remote contexts. Furthermore, the translator might insert into the translation any idea the source text called to mind.

The analysis of such exegetical elements deals with all renderings that deviate from the literal sense of a given Hebrew word, phrase or sentence (see pp. 18–26). From a formal point of view, exegetical elements stand in the same relationship to MT as variant readings, to be discussed below. They add and omit elements of MT as well as introduce certain changes into the text. Most exegetical elements, however, are reflected in the lexical choices themselves, which were influenced by the immediate context and the conceptual world of the translators.

As stated above, the exegetical elements reflected in the translation cannot be treated here in full. We shall content ourselves with providing some examples relevant to textual problems, that is, manifest additions, omissions and substitutions of elements. See Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 219–262.

### 1. Additions

The translators added various elements to the translation that served to improve its readability from a linguistic and contextual point of view, clarifying Hebrew or Greek words and explaining their content. In the following examples, the added elements are indicated by *italics*:

Gen 9:22	MT	וירא חם . . . ויגד לשני אחיו בחוץ and Ham saw . . . and told his two brothers outside
	LXX	καὶ εἶδεν Χαμ . . . καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀνήγγειλεν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔξω and Ham saw . . . and he <i>went out</i> and told his two brothers outside
Exod 32:26	MT	מי לה' אלי Who is on the LORD's side? To me!
	LXX	τίς πρὸς κύριον ἴτω πρὸς με Who is on the LORD's side? <i>Let him come</i> to me!
Exod 32:34	MT	אל אשר דברתי לך to that, of which I have spoken to you
	LXX	εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶπά σοι to the <i>place</i> of which I told you
Josh 5:3	MT	(וימל את בני ישראל) אל גבעת הערלות (and he circumcised the children of Israel) on the Hill of the Foreskins
	LXX	ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου τόπου βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν on <i>the place which is called</i> Hill of the Foreskins (cf. T: וקרא לה גבעת ערלתא)
Judg 16:2	MT	עד אור הבקר והרגגהו . . . till the light of the morning, then let us kill him
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	ἕως φωτὸς πρωὶ μείνωμεν καὶ ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν <i>let us wait</i> till the light of the morning, and let us kill him
Job 5:27	MT	ואתה דע לך and you will know (it) for yourself
	LXX	σὺ δὲ γνῶθι σεαυτῷ εἴ τι ἔπραξας and you will know for yourself <i>if you have done</i> <i>anything</i>

For the possibility of inner-Greek additions based on other verses, see especially H. Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job*, CBQMS 11 (Washington, 1982).

## 2. Omissions

Translators omitted or condensed various elements that they considered superfluous. In the following examples, *italics* represent the omitted or condensed elements in the Hebrew:

Josh 4:14	MT	וִירָאוּ אֹתוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר יִרְאוּ אֶת מֹשֶׁה and they revered him <i>as they had revered</i> Moses
	LXX	καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ὥσπερ Μωϋσῆν and they revered him like Moses
Isa 37:27	MT	הָיוּ עֵשֶׂב שָׂדֶה וִירֵק דֶּשֶׁא חֲצִיר גִּגֹּת and have become like <i>plants of the field, and like tender grass, like grass</i> on the housetops (RSV)
	LXX	καὶ ἐγένοντο ὡς χόρτος ξηρὸς ἐπὶ δωμάτων καὶ ὡς ἄγρωστις and have become like dry grass on the houses and like dog's-tooth grass

The five words denoting “grass” have been rendered by two words: χόρτος (described as ξηρός), which elsewhere represents four of the Hebrew words when they occur separately, and ἄγρωστις.

Jer 3:3	MT	וּמִצַּח אִשָּׁה זֹוֹנָה הִיא לְךָ and you had the forehead of a <i>woman-harlot</i>
	LXX	ὄψις πόρνης ἐγένετό σοι you had the face of a harlot

For a similar rendering, see Prov 6:26 *אִשָּׁה זֹוֹנָה*—πόρνης. Contrast other verses in which the phrase *אִשָּׁה זֹוֹנָה* was rendered by two separate words: Lev 21:7; Josh 2:1; Judg 11:1, etc.

Translators often reduced two or more words in the Hebrew parent text to one word in Greek because that particular word comprised all the elements expressed by a number of words in Hebrew:

Gen 31:20	MT	ויגנב יעקב את לב לבן <i>literally: and Jacob stole the heart of Laban</i>
	LXX	ἔκρυσσε δὲ Ἰακωβ Λαβαν and Jacob <i>hid</i> (the matter) from Laban
Josh 5:8	MT	ויהי כאשר תמו כל הגוי להמול and it came to pass when the whole nation finished being circumcised
	LXX	περιτμηθέντες δέ and being circumcised . . .

Possibly כל הגוי was not reflected in the *Vorlage* (contrast the translation of 4:1, 11).

1 Kgs 22:10	MT	מלבשים בגדים arrayed in (their) robes
	LXX	ἔνοπλοι armed

### 3. Substitutions

The number of exegetical substitutions is very large. Two well-known examples follow:

Num 12:8	MT	ותמנת ה' יביט and he beholds the <i>likeness</i> of the LORD
	LXX	καὶ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου εἶδεν and he saw the <i>glory</i> of the LORD (cf. T <sup>O</sup> )

The translators generally felt free to literally render verses or words, in which God is portrayed anthropomorphically, but in the present instance, as in some others, anthropomorphic expressions were avoided. Rejecting the idea that God's תמנה can be seen, the translator introduced the idea of δόξα (cf. Fritsch, *Pentateuch*, p. 9).

Isa 40:5	MT	(ונגלה כבוד ה') וראו כל בשר יחדו (and the glory of the LORD shall appear) and all flesh shall see (it) together
	LXX	καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ and all flesh shall see the <i>salvation of God</i>

The translator of Isaiah often ascribed to God σωτήριον, even when this idea was not found in the Hebrew text. For the translation of this verse, cf. Isa 52:10, and see further Seeligmann, *Isaiah 1948*, pp. 114–116 and L.H. Brockington, *ZAW* 66 (1954), p. 80.

The introduction of new ideas into the translation is often clad in the form of theological ideas, as in the preceding example. See further E. Tov, “Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint,” *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 257–269 and the literature quoted there. Although the assumption of tendentious theological exegesis should not be exaggerated (see chapter 3.B excursus 3), several novel ideas were inserted into the translation.

At a different level, the witness of the translators should not always be taken at face value. The answer to the question posed in E. Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?”, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 203–218 is definitely negative, so that their (sometimes) conjectural renderings should not be taken as the basis for text-critical decisions.

Translators often reformulated or condensed parts of Hebrew clauses, and sometimes complete clauses:

Jer 31(38):7	MT	כי כה אמר ה' רנו ליעקב שמחה For thus says the LORD: “Sing aloud to Jacob (with) gladness”
	LXX	ὅτι οὕτως εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἰακωβ Εὐφράνθητε For thus said the LORD to Jacob: “Rejoice” (pl.)
Esth 9:20	MT	ויכתב מרדכי את הדברים האלה וישלח ספרים and Mordecai wrote these things and sent letters
	LXX	ἔγραψεν δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοὺς λόγους τούτους εἰς βιβλίον καὶ ἐξάπεστειλεν and Mordecai wrote these things in a letter and sent . . .

#### 4. Bibliography

Thorough knowledge of various types of exegesis and of their distribution in the books of the LXX is a prerequisite for text-critical analysis. However, there are as yet no studies that deal systematically with the exegetical problems of the LXX as a whole. The best discussions are found

in monographs on the translation technique of *individual* books, of which the following deserve special mention (in alphabetical order): Allen, *Chronicles*; Frankel, *Vorstudien*; H. Heater, *Job* (see p. 52); Orlinsky in a series of articles on *Job* in *HUCA* 28–36 (1957–65); Schreiner, *Richter*; Seeligmann, *Isaiah* 1948; Thiersch, *Pentateuch*; J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, SBLSCS 35 (Atlanta, GA, 1993); id., *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, SBLSCS 30 (Atlanta, GA, 1990); id., *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBLSCS 39 (Atlanta, GA, 1995); Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*; id., *Beiträge*. See also the individual volumes of the *Bible d'Alexandrie* mentioned on p. 35; Troxel, *Isaiah* (p. 204 below); *Classified Bibliography*, §§ 10–16, 39; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, §§ 9, 13. On the background of the exegesis of the LXX and its relationship to other versions and ancient traditions, see G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, *Studia Post-Biblica* 4 (Leiden, 1961).

## B. Scribal developments

The theory of de Lagarde described in chapter 1.C implies that only one of several Greek alternative readings can reflect the original Greek rendering. This theory is reflected in the volumes of the Göttingen Septuagint and in Rahlfs–Hanhart, *Septuaginta*, which contain an eclectic text of the LXX consisting of readings found in different Greek manuscripts as well as conjectural readings (see chapter 1.C). By implication, all other Greek readings have either been corrupted from the presumed original reading, or reflect scribal or recensional activity of some kind. In critical editions, these readings are relegated to the apparatus.

The text-critical analysis of the LXX must take all extant Greek readings into consideration, because at the outset one does not know which reading is original, and any detail may have a bearing on the text of the Hebrew Bible. In principle, any reading found either in the reconstructed text or in the apparatus of one of the Göttingen editions or of Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, may have been included in the Old Greek translation and hence may be relevant to the *Hebrew Bible*. Consequently, in trying to assess the originality of competing Greek readings, one ought to be aware of the scribal developments leading to textual corruption in the LXX. These are similar to those affecting MT. For instance:

### 1. Haplography/dittography

Haplography often occurs in Greek manuscripts at the ends of words written continuously in uncial manuscripts. For example:

Deut 5:19(22)	all MSS	ῥήματα ταῦτα (ρηματαταυτα)
	MS 610	ῥῆμα ταῦτα (ρηματαυτα)
Lam 3:52	all MSS	ὡς στρουθιον (ωσστρουθιον)
	MSS A . . .	ωστρουθιον

## 2. Parablepsis

*Parablepsis* (*homoioteleuton* and *homoioarcton*) occurs very frequently in the manuscripts of the LXX. For example:

1 Sam 20:42	MT	ביני ובינך ובין זרעי ובין זרעך between me and you <i>and between my descendants<sup>a</sup></i> and your descendants
	all MSS	ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός μου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου

a. The italicized words have been omitted by MS B (the resulting text makes little sense).

For further examples, see p. 59.

## 3. Confusion of graphically similar letters

Graphically similar letters were often confused in Greek manuscripts. See Wutz, *Transkriptionen*; Margolis, “Studien”, p. 225; Driver, *Samuel*, pp. lvii–lviii; A. Sperber, *Septuaginta-Probleme*, BWANT III, 13 (Stuttgart, 1929); Schreiner, *Richter*, pp. 112ff.; Fischer, *Alphabet*; Ziegler, *Beiträge*, pp. 59ff.; id., *Sylloge, passim*; H.M. Orlinsky, “ἀποβαίνω and ἐπιβαίνω in the Septuagint of Job”, *JBL* 56 (1937), pp. 361–369; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 15ff.; J.W. Wevers, “A Note on Scribal Error”, *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 17 (1972), pp. 185–190; F.W. Knobloch, *Hebrew Sounds in Greek Script: Transcriptions and Related Phenomena in the Septuagint, with Special Focus on Genesis*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1995; UMI Dissertation Services); Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 9.

In the examples that follow, the corrupt Greek reading can be recognized easily because the original Greek reading agrees with MT (however, as a rule the evaluation of inner-Greek variants is more complicated):

2 Sam 14:20	MT	עשה עבדך יואב את הדבר הזה
		your servant Joab did this <i>thing</i>
	most MSS	ἐποίησεν ὁ δοῦλός σου Ἰωαβ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον
	B	" " " " " τὸν δόλον "

Undoubtedly the reading of most manuscripts, λόγον (*thing*) represents the original reading of the LXX, identical with MT (דבר—*thing*). However, the scribe of B (or his *Vorlage*) copied this word as δόλον (*stratagem*), influenced both by the context (Joab's act indeed was a stratagem) and by the graphic similarity of ΔΟΛΟΝ and ΛΟΓΟΝ in the uncial script (interchanges of Δ/Λ and Λ/Γ).

Jonah 2:5	MT	(להביט) אל היכל קדשך
		(to look) upon your holy <i>temple</i>
	most MSS	πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιόν σου
	B*	" " λαὸν " " "

The reading which is attested in most manuscripts, ναὸν (*temple*) must be considered original. The scribe of B (or his *Vorlage*) erroneously wrote ΛΑΟΝ (*people*) for ΝΑΟΝ (for similar interchanges, see Ps 27(26):4 and Sir. 49:12). At first sight one may be tempted to consider the reading of B\* as a possible translation of a Hebrew variant עם קדוש, thinking of λαὸς ἅγιος (*holy people*) in Deut 7:6; 14:2, 21 etc. However, it is much more likely that the scribe was influenced by the quoted expression, while interchanging the graphically similar letters Λ/Ν. For a similar instance, see the analysis of 1 Sam 9:24 in chapter 5 excursus 4.

Esth 2:5	MT	מרדכי בן יאיר בן שמעי
		Mordecai, the son of Jair, son of Shimei
	most MSS	Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἰα(ε)ῖρου τοῦ Σεμ(ε)εῖου
	A	" " " " ιατροῦ " "

The text of MS A contains an obvious error (Mordecai, the son of the physician[, of] Shimei). The error resulted from the similarity between ΙΑΙΡΟΥ and ΙΑΤΡΟΥ (*physician*).

Special attention should be paid to Greek *transliterations* of Hebrew words, most of which were corrupted in the course of the textual transmission of the LXX. For examples, see the literature quoted at the beginning of this section. Here is one additional example:

1 Kgs 18:32	MT	הַעֲלֵה (וַיַּעַל)
		(and he made) a trench
	oc <sub>2</sub> *e <sub>2</sub>	θααλα
	bgz(mg)c <sub>2</sub> <sup>a?</sup>	θαλαα
	dip	θαλααν
	rel.	θάλασσαν

In principle, θάλασσαν found in the majority of the manuscripts could reflect ים (basin), which is contextually possible. However, it is much more probable that הַעֲלֵה was originally transliterated as θααλα<sup>2</sup> and that this transliteration was corrupted to the more understandable word θάλασσαν. The same development occurred in vv. 35, 38. Contrast the discussion of Walters, *Text*, pp. 190ff., leading to a different conclusion.

#### 4. Wrong word division

Judg 5:8	MT	מִגֵּן אִם יִרְאֶה וּרְמַח
		if a shield or a lance was to be seen
	MSS A . . .	σκέπη νεανίδων σιρομαστῶν (ἀνήφθη καὶ σιρομάστης)
		a shield of girls of lances (was set on fire and a lance)

Whatever meaning may be ascribed to the strange reading of MSS A . . . (for an explanation, cf. Procopius' commentary *ad loc.* [PG 87, 1, 500]), it certainly does not reflect the original wording of the A text. The original wording of that text is reflected in one Greek manuscript only (MS I):

σκέπην ἐὰν ἴδω σιρομαστῶν  
if I would see a shield of lances<sup>3</sup>

The error, which yielded a completely different text, is based on a wrong division of words (σκέπην ἐὰν ἴδω corrupted to: σκέπη νεανίδων). Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, recognized the error and accordingly printed the text

2. On transliterations of technical terms and unknown words, see E. Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament: A New Characteristic of the *Kaige*-Th. Revision", in: id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 501–512.

3. Cf. the text of B: θυρεὸς ἐὰν ὀφθῇ καὶ λόγχη.

of MS I as the original text of the A text of Judges, supported by Theodoret's *Quaestiones* 12 in Judg (PG 80, 331).

### 5. The character of the individual manuscripts

As with Hebrew manuscripts, all Greek manuscripts must be judged according to their individual features. Codex A, for example, was often influenced by parallels, both near and remote. Ziegler, *Ieremias*, p. 54, provided a list of such passages for Jeremiah, from which we select three:

7:14a	MT	לִבִּית	-	τῷ οἴκῳ ] A τῷ τόπῳ cf. v. 14b
19:15	MT	הִזָּאת	-	ταύτην ] A + κακά cf. ἅπαντα τὰ κακά in the verse
22:26	MT	וְהִטְלֵתִי	-	καὶ ἀπορρίψω ] A καὶ παραδώσω cf. v. 25

On the other hand, such general characterizations of manuscripts must never be followed blindly. De Lagarde, *Proverbien*, p. 3, n. 1 stressed: "ich glaube . . . dass keine hds der LXX so gut ist, dass sie nicht oft genug schlechte lesarten, keine so schlecht dass sie nicht mitunter ein gutes körnchen böte" [I believe . . . that no manuscript of the LXX is so good that it contains no bad readings, and that not one is so bad that it does not contain an occasional pearl]. Thus, although Ziegler described manuscripts B and S as the best sources for the original text of Jeremiah (Ziegler, *Ieremias*, p. 126), he often reconstructed this text against the evidence of these two manuscripts. In the following two instances, Ziegler followed the majority of the manuscripts of Jeremiah rather than manuscripts BS . . . in which he detected *parablepsis* (*homoiototeuton*):

Jer 4:19	MT	מֵעֵי מַעֵי אֲחֻלָּה	
	B-S*-106' 91-567 Aeth etc.	τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἀλγῶ	
	rel.	τὴν κοιλίαν μου τὴν κοιλίαν μου ἀλγῶ (= Ziegler, <i>Ieremias</i> )	
Jer 23:20	MT	עַד עֲשֵׂתוֹ וְעַד הַקִּימוֹ	
	B*-S*-410 36* Thdt	ἕως ἂν ποιήσῃ αὐτό	
	rel.	ἕως ἂν ποιήσῃ αὐτό καὶ ἕως ἂν ἀναστήσῃ αὐτό (= Ziegler, <i>Ieremias</i> )	

### 6. Emendation of the LXX

The use of the LXX in the text-critical study of the Hebrew Bible requires constant reference to the presumably original readings of the LXX.

As a rule, such readings are selected from the extant variants, but sometimes they are reconstructed by way of emendation. See P. Katz, *ThLZ* 61 (1936), pp. 265–287; Ziegler, *Beiträge*, pp. 17–58. Three examples follow:

1 Sam 9:24	MT	וִירָם (הַטֵּבַח אֶת הַשּׁוֹק) and (the cook) lifted (the thigh)
	most MSS	καὶ ἥψησεν and he boiled
	be-osvwz <sup>a2</sup> b <sub>2</sub> c <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub>	καὶ ἥρεν and he lifted

Against the transmitted evidence, Grabe (= Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*) reconstructed the original reading of the LXX as καὶ ὕψωσεν (= MT; cf. MSS be-os etc. of the LXX and the Old Latin: *levavit*).

Jer 38(45):22	MT	הַטְּבַעוּ (בְּבִץ רִגְלֶךָ) (your feet) are sunk (in the mire)
B-S-239 A-106' 62 C'-613 46		καταλύσουσι they will dissolve
	rel.	κατισχύσουσι(ν) they will strengthen

L. Bos (in Schleusner, *Thesaurus*, I, 176; II, 190) correctly reconstructed the original reading as καταδύσουσιν (they will cause to sink), accepted by Ziegler, *Ieremias* (for a discussion, see Ziegler, *Beiträge*, p. 35).

Jer 49:10(29:11)	MT	שָׂדֵד (זֶרְעוֹ) his offspring (is destroyed)
	most MSS	διὰ χεῖρα (407 534: διὰ χειρός) because of the hand

The original reading was reconstructed as ἐπίχειρα (arm) = זֶרְעוֹ by W. Rudolph, *ZAW* 48 (1930), p. 278 and this emendation was accepted by Ziegler, *Ieremias*; cf. the equivalence ἐπίχειρον—זֶרְעִי in Jer 48(31):25 and 27:5(34:4). See Ziegler, *Beiträge*, pp. 28–29.

## 7. Bibliography

Some bibliography has been mentioned in the preceding section. The reader is also referred to § 36B of the *Classified Bibliography* and Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 22 for discussions of inner-Septuagintal corruptions.

The most detailed accounts of inner-Septuagintal textual developments are found in the introductions to the individual volumes of the Göttingen Septuagint series and in monographs written in connection with these editions, especially Ziegler, *Untersuchungen* (Isaiah), and id., *Beiträge* (Jeremiah); Wevers, *Text History . . . Genesis*; id., *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, MSU XXI (Göttingen, 1991); id., *Text History of the Greek Leviticus*, MSU XIX (Göttingen, 1986); id., *Text History of the Greek Numbers*, MSU XVI (Göttingen, 1982); id., *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*, MSU XIII (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 86–144; R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des ersten Esrabuches*, MSU XII (Göttingen, 1974); id., *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith*, MSU XIV (Göttingen, 1979), pp. 79–109; see further Wolff, *Observationes*, pp. 1–22; Thackeray, *Grammar*, pp. 71ff.; Köhler, *Beobachtungen*, pp. 7–29; Margolis, “Studien”, pp. 214ff.; H.M. Orlinsky, “Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job, IV”, *HUCA* 33 (1962), pp. 119–151; Vogt, *Critica Textus*; Seeligmann, *Isaiah 1948*, pp. 8–38; Barr, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 247–249; O. Munnich in *Bible grecque*, pp. 129–200 (with a large bibliography); Bogaert, “Septante”, cols. 650–672; D. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, Texts and Studies III, 5 (Piscataway, NJ, 2007); and studies on the textual criticism of the New Testament.

## CHAPTER 3

### HOW TO RECONSTRUCT THE *VORLAGE* OF THE LXX—POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS

... Who will attempt to render it into Hebrew? As a matter of fact, in passages wanting in the Hebrew, all attempts at retroversion are unscientific. (Margolis, "Complete Induction", p. 302)

There is no retroversion without a residue of doubt, and what seems self-evident to one scholar may look like a house of cards to his fellow. (Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory", p. 132)

#### A. Criteria for Retroversion

It is usually assumed that the Hebrew and Aramaic text underlying the LXX can be reconstructed, though not in its entirety, as was once thought by such scholars as Jahn.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, many elements of this *Vorlage* can be retroverted, that is, retranslated from the Greek into their Semitic equivalents. The results can often be quite satisfactory if due caution is exercised. However, with one exception,<sup>2</sup> the rules to be followed in this process have never been formulated, and possibly because of this, the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* has too often deteriorated into an uncontrolled game. At the same time, the one study which did suggest a sound approach to retroversion has not sufficiently been taken into consideration: M.L. Margolis,

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1. G. Jahn, *Das Buch Esther nach der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt* (Leiden, 1901); id., *Das Buch Ezechiel auf Grund der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt* (Leipzig, 1905); id., *Die Bücher Esra (A und B) und Nehemja* (Leiden, 1909). On Jahn's reconstruction of Esther, see J. Wellhausen, GGA 164 (1902), pp. 127–147 and J. Hoschander, *The Book of Esther in the Light of History* (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 2 n. 2 ("an amateurish biblical parody"). Jahn replied in his *Beiträge zur Beurtheilung der Septuaginta: eine Würdigung Wellhausenscher Textkritik* (Kirchhain, 1902).

2. See below (Margolis). For partial discussions, see Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 315–341; Seeligmann, *Isaiah* 2004, pp. 53–54, 62–65; Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory"; Klein, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 62ff.

“Complete Induction for the Identification of the Vocabulary in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament with Its Semitic Equivalents: Its Necessity and the Means of Obtaining It”, *JAOS* 30 (1910), pp. 301–312. The present analysis is meant as a continuation of that study, in which Margolis made a first step towards a methodology of retroversion. Since the appearance of the first edition of the present monograph, the following study has also been published: A. Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint”, *ZAW* 99 (1987), pp. 58–89. This study is also taken into consideration in the following analysis.

The following exposition provides some general guidelines for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX, but it does not pretend to provide answers to all the problems involved. Indeed, despite such guidelines, the textual scholar is very often at a loss with regard to the reconstruction of this *Vorlage*.

The text-critical analysis of the LXX starts with an attempt to establish a relationship between all words in the LXX and MT. For this purpose all elements in the LXX that seem to reflect MT are first isolated (cf. pp. 44–48 above). At that point we may recognize a few elements that could reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. The reconstruction of the *Vorlage* thus consists both of the isolation of words which presumably were also extant in the translator’s *Vorlage* and of the actual reconstruction of elements that differed from MT. This reconstruction often appears to concentrate on reconstructing elements which differ from MT, but the correct method is to start with the isolation of those elements in MT which presumably were also found in the *Vorlage* of the LXX (step one). Actually, most of the elements of MT are reflected in the LXX, a fact too often overlooked.

The next step involves isolating the elements in the LXX that could reflect Hebrew readings different from MT (step two). After that, one attempts to identify which Hebrew words the translator had in front of him or had in mind (step three). In practice, these last two steps often coincide, because the scholar’s intuition may lead to the assumption that a specific Greek word reflects a certain variant, especially when a textual error is assumed either in the LXX or in MT. It is not difficult to recognize in the following example that οἱ δοῦλοι does not reflect “the Hebrews” of MT (העֲבָדִים), but rather הַעֲבָדִים (“the slaves”; cf. the equivalence עֲבָד—δοῦλος *passim* in the LXX), which is graphically very close to הַעֲבָרִים:

1 Sam 13:3	MT	ושאול תקע בשופר בכל הארץ לאמר ישמעו העֲבָרִים and Saul blew the trumpet throughout all the land, saying: “Let the <i>Hebrews</i> hear”
	LXX	καὶ Σαουλ σάλπιγγι σαλπίζει εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν λέγων ἠθετήκασιν οἱ δοῦλοι and Saul blew the trumpet towards all the land, saying: “The <i>servants</i> have despised (us)”

This applies also to a reverse example in the same biblical book, in which עֲבָרִים of MT is reflected in the LXX as Ἑβραῖοι:

1 Sam 17:8	MT	הלווא אנכי הפלשתי ואתם עֲבָדִים לשאול Am I not a Philistine, and are you not <i>servants</i> of Saul?
	LXX	οὐκ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀλλόφυλος καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἑβραῖοι τοῦ Σαουλ Am I not a Philistine, and you <i>Hebrews</i> of Saul?

It is impossible to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of the LXX as a whole, but many of its elements can be identified. At this point, a distinction should be made between different types of elements. The following analysis refers to individual “content words/elements” which can be retroverted with reasonable certainty on the basis of our knowledge of the translators’ vocabulary. This does not apply to the reconstruction of “grammatical words/elements”, that is prepositions, conjunctions and particles, or to the reconstruction of grammatical categories such as the number of nouns, the tenses and aspects of the Hebrew verb, etc. There simply are not enough data for the identification of such elements (see chapter 5.C). It should be noted, however, that the more literal and stereotyped a certain translation unit is, the easier it is to reconstruct even these elements.

The different aspects of the act of retroversion may be summarized as follows: retroversions are based either on vocabulary equivalences between the LXX and MT which are found elsewhere in the LXX and which are not problematic (§ 1), or they are based on the scholar’s intuition (§ 2). Scholars mainly turn to their own intuition when they realize that the Greek–Hebrew equivalences are inadequate.

Correct retroversions yield Hebrew words and forms that conform to two sets of data: first, the retroversion should be probable from a textual point of view. That is, the retroverted reading should have developed by

known procedures of textual change from the reading of MT or *vice versa*, or else its place in the textual history of MT should be easily definable (§ 3). Secondly, the retroverted reading, if considered primary, should be plausible from the point of view of the grammar, vocabulary and style of the Hebrew Bible, and in particular of the unit in which the reading is found (§ 4)—however, some secondary readings are grammatically incorrect (see p. 84). Finally, some retroversions are supported by identical readings in external sources (§ 5).

These five aspects of retroversion are now analyzed in detail. The analysis should be read in conjunction with Barr, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 238–272 and Aejmelaesus, “Hebrew *Vorlage*”, where several further issues are raised. See also Seeligmann, *Isaiah 2004*, pp. 53–54, 62–65.

### 1. Greek–Hebrew equivalents

The discussion centers first on Greek–Hebrew equivalents (rather than Hebrew–Greek equivalents, because our point of departure is the LXX and not MT). The act of retroversion refers both to those elements of MT which presumably were extant in the *Vorlage* of the LXX and to those elements in the *Vorlage* which differed from MT and must therefore be reconstructed. As to the latter, retroversion consists of determining the *presumed* equivalents between the LXX and its Hebrew–Aramaic *Vorlage*, often on the basis of equivalents between the LXX and MT elsewhere which are not problematic. In the above-mentioned example, the presumed equivalent of οἱ δοῦλοι is reconstructed as העבדים and indeed, the equivalent δοῦλος—עבד occurs elsewhere in the LXX in many unproblematic contexts.

The extant equivalents between the LXX and MT are listed in concordances—foremost among these being that of Hatch-Redpath (see excursus 1) and can be traced with the aid of computer-assisted searches in the CATSS database (see excursus 2). These may be called *formal* equivalents, because the available concordances and electronic tools merely list the Hebrew words in whose *place* the Greek words stand, but do not relate to the question of whether or not the Greek words reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage* (see further below).

The textual scholar takes as a point of departure those formal equivalents which, in his/her view, are not problematic, and allow for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* whenever the LXX contains a problematic equivalent, such as οἱ δοῦλοι—העבדים in 1 Sam 13:3. There are no modern printed concordances that go beyond the mere listing of formal equivalents. The only sources that remark on presumed equivalents as opposed to formal

equivalents are occasional remarks in the printed concordance of Trommius and Schleusner's *Thesaurus*, and the CATSS electronic database. Col. b of the CATSS database records presumed equivalents, but in 2015 these are not yet included in the search procedures. In a printed form the data of CATSS are represented only in the concordance of Ecclesiastes by Jarick (for references to all these works, see excursuses 1 and 2 below).

The above description is simplistic, since one cannot reconstruct the *Vorlage* of the LXX merely on the basis of equivalents listed in concordances and identified within CATSS. These tools usually record more than one equivalent for a Greek word, making it necessary for the scholar to rely on past experience in order to make the right choice when analyzing the background of an unusual equivalence. Sometimes the scholar will resort to the main equivalent of a Greek word, at others, to an infrequently used one. Much depends on one's textual judgment, much on one's linguistic feeling, and even more on the analysis of the translation techniques involved. Regarding the last, the more literal a given translation unit, the more one can rely on equivalents used elsewhere, and conversely, the freer the translation, the less helpful they are. Retroversions on the basis of equivalents found elsewhere in the LXX (preferably in the same translation unit) are illustrated by the following examples:

2 Kgs 17:20	MT	וַיַּעֲנֵם
		and he afflicted them
	LXX	καὶ ἐσάλευσεν αὐτούς
		and he moved them
	=	וַיַּנְעֵם

HR correctly lists עָנָה (to afflict) of our verse among the equivalents of σαλεύω (to move) but this correspondence is found only here. Elsewhere in the LXX σαλεύω renders various verbs, among them נָרַע (to move), cf. Pss 107(106):27; 109(108):10, and therefore in our verse, the Greek translation probably reflects וַיַּנְעֵם (cf. Num 32:13) instead of MT וַיַּעֲנֵם (presumably one reading developed from the other by way of *metathesis*). This assumption is true as long as the deviation in the LXX cannot be attributed to any factor other than the assumption of a variant *Vorlage*, especially context exegesis.

Mal 3:11	MT	ולא תשכל (לכם הגפן בשדה) and (the vine in the field) shall not fail to bear (to you)
	LXX	καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀσθενήσῃ (ὕμῶν ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ) and (your vine in the field) shall not be weak
	=	ולא תכשל

According to its system, HR lists שכל (to be bereaved of children, to fail to bear) in this verse among the formal equivalents of ἀσθενέω (to be weak), but this is the only verse where this unusual equivalence is to be found. Elsewhere in the LXX ἀσθενέω usually renders כשל, especially in the *pi'el*, and therefore in our verse the LXX probably reflects תכשל (developed by way of *metathesis* from MT, or *vice versa*). This assumption is correct as long as the deviation of the Greek from the Hebrew cannot be attributed to any factor other than a variant *Vorlage*.

Deut 31:1	MT	וילך משה וידבר (= T <sup>QJ</sup> S V) And Moses <i>went</i> and spoke.
	LXX	καὶ συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς λαλῶν And Moses <i>finished</i> speaking.
	=	ויכל משה לדבר (= 1QDeut <sup>b</sup> 13 ii 4 and Deut 32:45 MT LXX)

An analysis of the LXX shows that the verb συνετέλεω, “to finish”, usually reflects the root כלה, “to finish”, see HR and CATSS. Since the deviation in the LXX cannot be explained in terms of exegesis on the part of the translator, it would appear that the LXX reflects a variant reading ויכל, “and he finished”. Therefore, either וילך, “and he went,” of MT or ויכל of the Greek *Vorlage* of the LXX developed by way of *metathesis* of the last two letters. In this case the reconstructed reading also appears in a Hebrew source, viz., 1QDeut<sup>b</sup> 13 ii 4 as well as in the MT of Deut 32:45: ויכל משה לדבר, “And Moses *finished* speaking”. A reverse interchange is known from Josh 19:49, 51 MT ויכלו (= T S) as compared with LXX καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν (= וילכו).

Isa 24:3	MT	כִּי ה' דִּבֶּר (= T S V) for the LORD spoke
	LXX	τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε for the mouth of the LORD spoke
	=	כִּי פִי ה' דִּבֶּר

στόμα does not represent any element in MT. It is not likely that this plus resulted from contextual exegesis, because the LXX and other biblical translations tend to the opposite, that is, eliminating anthropomorphic biblical expressions in the translation (see especially Fritsch, *Pentateuch*). Therefore στόμα probably represents a Hebrew word not found in MT. Since στόμα reflects פִּי (פה) in more than 200 instances (it hardly ever reflects any other word), and conversely פה is rendered almost exclusively by στόμα, this στόμα, too, *could* reflect פה (for the evidence, see H.M. Orlinsky, *HUCA* 27 [1956], p. 196). This assumption is supported by textual probability: the reconstructed פִּי was either omitted in MT by way of haplography following the graphically similar כִּי, or added by the translator or his *Vorlage* by way of dittography: כִּי פִי ה' דִּבֶּר. A reverse phenomenon occurs in Isa 40:5 כִּי פִי ה' דִּבֶּר—ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησε (= כִּי ה' דִּבֶּר).

Isa 41:5	MT	ראו אֵימָּה וַיִּירָאוּ קְצוֹת הָאָרֶץ יִחַדְדוּ קִרְבוּ וַיֵּאֲתִיּוּן nations saw and feared, the ends of the earth trembled, drew near and came
	LXX	εἶδον εἰς ἑθνη καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς ἤγγισαν καὶ ἤλθοσαν ἅμα nations saw and feared, the ends of the earth drew near and came together

All except one of the Greek words represent an equivalent word in MT:

LXX		MT
εἶδον	—	ראו
εἰς ἑθνη	—	אֵימָּה
καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν	—	וַיִּירָאוּ
τὰ ἄκρα	—	קְצוֹת
τῆς γῆς	—	הָאָרֶץ
ἤγγισαν	—	קִרְבוּ
καὶ ἤλθοσαν	—	וַיֵּאֲתִיּוּן

יחרדו (they trembled) in MT does not seem to be represented by any one word in the LXX, and likewise ἄμα does not seem to represent any one word of MT. However, ἄμα usually reflects יחדו (ו) and conversely יחדו (ו) is rendered mainly by ἄμα. Even though the two words occur in different places in the sentence in the MT and LXX, the Greek word probably reflects a variant יחדו (together), which contains four of the five letters of יחרדו. It is therefore safe to assume that the parent text of the LXX read יחדו in the position of יחרדו of MT, just as in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.

Many identifications of presumed equivalents are based on related Greek words (rather than identical ones) such as compound words, derived words, etc. In the following example, the equivalence of רמה/רמא and ῥίπτω in Exod 15:21 and Dan 6:8ff. supports the reconstruction of an equivalence ἀπορρίπτω—רמה in Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets:<sup>3</sup>

Jer 8:14	(. . . ונבוא אל ערי המבצר) ונדמה שם	—	καὶ ἀπορριψόμεν
	And meet our doom there (NJPS)	—	and be cast out (NETS) (= ונרמה)
Jer 47(29):5	(באה קרחה אל עזה) נדמתה אשקלון	—	ἀπερρίφη (= נרמתה)
Jer 51(28):6	אל תדמו (בעונה)	—	καὶ μὴ ἀπορριφήτε (= תרמו)
Hos 10:7	נדמה שמרון (מלכה)	—	ἀπέρριψε Σαμάρεια (= נרמה)
Hos 10:15 (11:1)	נדמה נדמה (מלך ישראל)	—	ἀπερρίφησαν ἀπερρίφη (= נרמה נרמה)
Obad 5	איך נדמיתה	—	ποῦ ἂν ἀπερρίφης (= נרמיתה)

The use of Greek–Hebrew equivalents for the purpose of retroverting the *Vorlage* of the LXX is usually based on identical or similar words, but for this process it is not necessary that the Greek words be identical. It often suffices to point to words that are similar in *meaning*, reflecting identical or similar exegesis. Thus, in Gen 49:14 τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν (he desired

3. These variants may be considered “pseudo-variants” as suggested in chapter 5.D.

that which is good) is retroverted as (ה) חֶמֶד גֶּרֶם (MT: חֶמֶר גֶּרֶם [a bony ass?]). The retroversion of the second word is supported by the translation of גֶּרֶם in Ps 119(118):20 where this word is rendered similarly: גֶּרֶם נִפְשִׁי לַתֵּאֲבָה—ἐπεπόθησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου τοῦ ἐπιθυμῆσαι.

A similar procedure may be followed with regard to longer sections not extant in MT, as long as the conditions are favorable, as in the examples given below. The reconstruction of the plus in the LXX of Judg 16:13–14 may be considered reliable, because almost all its constituents recur in the context.

The plus in the LXX reads as follows in manuscript A:<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐγκρούσης ἐν τῷ πασσάλῳ εἰς τὸν τοῖχον καὶ ἔσομαι ἀσθενὴς ὡς εἷς τῶν ἀνθρώπων <sup>14</sup>καὶ ἐκοίμισεν αὐτὸν Δαλιλα καὶ ἐδιάσατο τοὺς ἑπτὰ βοστρύχους τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως (“... and hammer them into the wall with the peg, I shall also become weak, like one of men’. And Dalila lulled him to sleep, and she made the seven locks of his head the warp with the stretching out. . .” [NETS]).

The following words in vv. 13–14 can be retroverted with relative certainty on the basis of equivalents found in vv. 14, 19 and elsewhere in the LXX:

καὶ ἐγκρούσης	-	ותקעת	cf. v. 14:	ותתקע	-	καὶ
						κατέκρουσεν
ἐν τῷ πασσάλῳ	-	ביתד	cf. v. 14:	ביתד	-	ἐν τοῖς
						πασσάλοις
εἰς τὸν τοῖχον	-	אל הקיר	cf. <i>passim</i> :	קיר	-	τοῖχος
καὶ ἔσομαι	-	וחליתי	cf. <i>passim</i> :	חלה	-	ἀσθεν-
ἀσθενὴς						
ὡς εἷς	-	כאחד	cf. <i>passim</i> :	אחד	-	εἷς
τῶν ἀνθρώπων	-	האדם	cf. <i>passim</i> :	אדם	-	ἄνθρωπος
καὶ ἐκοίμισεν	-	ותישנהו	cf. v. 19:	תישנהו	-	καὶ ἐκοίμισεν
αὐτόν						αὐτόν
τοὺς ἑπτὰ	-	שבע	cf. v. 19:	שבע	-	τοὺς ἑπτὰ
βοστρύχους	-	מחלפות		מחלפות	-	βοστρύχους
τῆς κεφαλῆς	-	ראשו	cf. <i>passim</i> :	ראש	-	κεφαλῇ
αὐτοῦ						

4. The Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the B and the A texts were very similar. The latter is quoted here because it probably presents a more original version of the translation. Cf. E. Tov, “The Textual History of the Song of Deborah in the A Text of the LXX”, in: id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 501–508.

As a result of this comparison, the retroversion<sup>5</sup> suggested by *BH(S)* is relatively reliable:<sup>6</sup> ותקעת ביתד אל הקיר וחליתי והייתי כאחד האדם ותישנהו (BHS: ותארג (ותאריג: *BHS*). In this reconstruction *BH(S)* disregarded Δαλιλα. See further below p. 79 on the retroversion of καὶ ἐδιάσατο and μετὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως.

The same procedure may be applied to Josh 24:30 where the Hebrew text which is now a plus in the LXX (v. 31a) was probably omitted from the (proto-)MT at an early stage because the content of the section was found offensive:<sup>7</sup>

The text of MS B runs as follows: ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ μνήμα εἰς ὃ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ τὰς μαχαίρας τὰς πετρίνας ἐν αἷς περιέτεμεν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Γαλγάλοις ὅτε ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καθὰ συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς κύριος καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰσιν ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ("There they put with him, into the tomb in which they buried him, the flint knives with which he circumcised the sons of Israel in Galgala, when he led them out of Egypt, as the Lord instructed them, and there they are until this very day" [NETS]).

The following Greek–Hebrew equivalents can be identified:

LXX		MT
ἐκεῖ	—	שם cf. <i>passim</i>
ἔθηκαν	—	שמו cf. <i>passim</i>
μετ' αὐτοῦ	—	אתו/עמו cf. <i>passim</i>

5. Some background information on the legitimacy of the retroversion is in order. In the reconstructed v. 13, Samson reveals how he can be caught by the Philistines, while the next verse relates how he actually is caught. Unfortunately, however, the last part of v. 13 is lacking in MT. In the search for the original text of vv. 13–14, MT must therefore be considered secondary. Both Samson's instructions and the actual account are incomplete in MT and, unlike the account of parallel instances in this chapter, the wording of Samson's instructions in v. 13 differs from that of their implementation in v. 14. Moreover, an accidental omission of these words from MT (*homoioteleuton*) is textually plausible: ותתקע (עם המסכת) ותתקע (עם המסכת). It therefore stands to reason that the added text in the LXX indeed represents a Hebrew plus rather than a Greek addition (this is also confirmed internally by Hebraistic elements found in this section [see section 6.B.1.β below]). For a discussion, see Ginsburg, *Introduction*, p. 177.

6. In the reconstruction of *BHS*, והייתי is not based on the text of MS A which is quoted here, but apparently on MS B or MSS egjlnoswz (καὶ ἀσθενήσω καὶ ἔσομαι).

7. The text mentions the burying of *reliquiae* in Joshua's grave. Cf. A. Rofé, "The End of the Book of Joshua according to the Septuagint", *Henoch* 4 (1982), pp. 17–36.

LXX		MT	
μνημα	—	קָבֵר	cf. <i>passim</i>
θάπτω	—	קבר	cf. <i>passim</i>
ἐκεῖ	—	שם	cf. <i>passim</i>
τὰς μαχαίρας τὰς πετρίνας	—	חרבות הצרים	cf. Josh 5:2, 3
περιτέμνω	—	מול	cf. <i>passim</i>
τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ	—	בני ישראל	cf. <i>passim</i>
Γαλαλα	—	גלגל	cf. <i>passim</i>
ὅτε ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς	—	בהוציאו אתם	cf. ἐξάγω—הוציא, <i>passim</i>
ἐξ Αἰγύπτου	—	ממצרים	cf. <i>passim</i>
καθὰ συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς	—	כאשר צוה אתם	cf. <i>passim</i> , e.g., Exod 19:7; Lev 8:4
κύριος	—	ה'	cf. <i>passim</i>
ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας	—	עד היום הזה	cf. Gen 26:33; Num 22:30

Accordingly, the retroversion suggested by *BH* is relatively well supported: את בקר אתו אשר קברו אתו שם את חרבות הצרים אשר מל בהן את בני ישראל בגלגל בהוציאו אתם ממצרים כאשר צוה אתם ה' ותהיינה שם עד היום הזה.

Similarly long sections have been retroverted from the LXX in *BH* in 1 Sam 3:21; 10:1; 13:15 (cf. Ginsburg, *Introduction*, p. 177); 14:24, 41 (see p. 139); 17:36; 29:10; 1 Kgs 2:29; and in many other places.

In rare cases, such retroversions are supported by external evidence. For example, at the end of 2 Sam 14:30, the LXX adds a sentence which has been omitted from MT by way of *homoiooteleuton* (את החלקה באש—(את החלקה באש) and which can be retroverted as follows:

LXX		MT	
καὶ παραγίνονται	—	ויבאו	cf. <i>passim</i>
οἱ δοῦλοι Ἰωαβ	—	עבדי יואב	cf. <i>passim</i> ; contrast, however, the reading of 4QSam <sup>c</sup> (see below)
πρὸς αὐτὸν	—	אליו	cf. <i>passim</i>

LXX		MT	
διερρήχοντες	—	קרועי	cf. <i>passim</i>
τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν	—	בגדיהם	cf. <i>passim</i>
καὶ εἶπαν	—	ויאמרו	cf. <i>passim</i>
ἐνεπύρισαν	—	הציתו	cf. v. 30a
οἱ δοῦλοι	—	עבדי אבשלום	cf. <i>passim</i>
Ἀβεσσαλωμ			
τὴν μερίδα	—	את החלקה	cf. v. 30a
ἐν πυρί	—	באש	cf. <i>passim</i>

And the slaves of Ioab came to him with their clothes torn and said, “The slaves of Abessalom burned your portion with fire.” (NETS)

This retroversion is supported by a similar addition in 4QSam<sup>c</sup>: ויבואו [י]לדי יואב אלו קרועי ב[גדיהם ויאמרו הציתו עב]די אבשלום אף [ה]חלקה באש cf. E. Ulrich, “53. 4QSam<sup>c</sup>” in F.M. Cross, D.W. Parry, R. Saley, E. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1–2 Samuel*, DJD XVII (Oxford, 2005), p. 130.

It should be borne in mind that in the examples described above only the “content words/elements” can be reconstructed with relative certainty on the basis of equivalents occurring elsewhere. The reconstruction of “grammatical words/elements” such as prepositions, particles, conjunctions and all grammatical categories must be considered less reliable (see the additional note on p. 75).

As expected, the reliance on Greek–Hebrew equivalences for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX also has negative aspects. Too often and without justification scholars assumed that the parent text of the LXX translation always represented its *Vorlage* in a literal fashion. Accordingly, when a rendering appeared to not fulfill this characterization, these scholars too quickly turned to reconstructing variant readings on the basis of equivalents listed in the concordances. Hence, although concordances of the Hatch–Redpath type render an important service to scholarship, they also provide the very data that are too often used for rash retroversion.

Many deviations of the LXX from MT can easily be translated into Hebrew with the aid of a computer search, a concordance, a lexicon, a grammar and a little acumen. Such retroversions are commonly called automatic or mechanical. The sources that contain the largest collections of retroverted variants, namely commentaries on the biblical books and the *Biblia Hebraica* (*Stuttgartensia*) also contain the largest collections of unnecessary

retranslations. *BH* has elicited a great deal of criticism for failing to exercise enough caution in this matter.<sup>8</sup> The mechanical approach was followed *ad absurdum* by Jahn, who retroverted complete books in this manner (see n. 1). In his reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the relatively free translation of Esther, one encounters many mechanical retroversions such as:

1:2	MT:	בשושן הבירה	–	ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει
	retroverted:	בשושן העיר		
1:5	MT:	ביתן המלך	–	οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως
	retroverted:	בית המלך		
1:12	MT:	ותמאן המלכה ושתי לכוא	–	καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτοῦ Ἀστιν ἡ Βασίλισσα ἐλθεῖν
	retroverted:	ולא שמעה אליו אשתין המלכה לכוא		

Generally, the distinction between mechanical and well-supported retroversions is more subtle, as in this instance:

Jer 2:29	MT	למה תריבו אלי
		Why do you <i>complain</i> against me?
	LXX	ἵνα τί λαλεῖτε πρὸς μέ
		Why do you <i>speak</i> to me?

A mechanical use of the concordance would yield a retroversion תדברו, as suggested by *BHS* on the basis of the frequent equivalent דבר—λαλέω. However, this verse speaks about God, and since the translator presumably was reluctant to mention complaints against God, he used a general verb. This type of exegesis, which removes phrases that are disrespectful to God, is reflected also in Jer 12:1 where the same Hebrew verb occurs:

8. See especially Orlinsky, “Textual Criticism”, pp. 114–115 (where also criticisms of Torrey, Montgomery, Margolis, Katz and Ziegler are specified); J. Reider, “The Present State of Textual Criticism of the Old Testament”, *HUCA* 7 (1930), pp. 291ff.; Deist, *Text*, pp. 87–96. *BHS* is slightly more cautious than *BH*, see 3.B excursus 1 below and the excursus to chapter 7.

Jer 12:1	MT	צַדִּיק אַתָּה ה' (כי אריב אליך) (righteous are you, O LORD), when I <i>complain</i> to you
	LXX	ὅτι ἀπολογήσομαι πρὸς σέ that I <i>make my defense</i> to you

In accordance with the analysis given in this chapter, one should not reconstruct a variant תִּדְבָּר in 2:29 even though it is graphically close to MT in that verse.

#### *Additional note*

It was stated on p. 64 that only equivalents of individual “content words/elements” can be traced with the aid of the processes described here. All other elements of the *Vorlage*, that is, “grammatical words” and most grammatical categories, cannot be reconstructed well because their translation differs from one verse to another, depending on the nature of the Hebrew and Greek syntax and the literary taste of the translator.

At the same time, several important studies have been written (especially in recent decades) on various aspects of the grammatical equivalences between the LXX and its Hebrew *Vorlage*, particularly in the realm of syntax. For background information, see E. Tov, “The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the LXX in the Past and Present”, in: id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 239–246.

Some of these studies are (in alphabetical order):

A. Aejmelaes, *Parataxis in the Septuagint—A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch*, AASE, Diss. Hum. Litt. 31 (Helsinki, 1982)

ead., *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (revised and expanded edition; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA, 2007) <studies on ὅτι *participium coniunctum*, and clause connectors>

D.K. Andrews, “The Translation of Aramaic *dī* in the Greek Bible”, *JBL* 66 (1947), pp. 15–51

J. Barr, “Translators’ Handling of Verb Tense in Semantically Ambiguous Contexts”, in: Cox, *VI Congress*, pp. 381–403

C. Cox, “Tying it All Together: The Use of Particles in the Old Greek Job”, *BIOSCS* 38 (2005), pp. 41–54

Frankel, *Vorstudien*, pp. 132ff.

K. Hauspie, “Prepositional Phrases in the Septuagint of Ezekiel”, in: *Scripture in Transition*, pp. 89–105

ead., “‘Ev with Dative Indicating Instrument in the Septuagint of Ezekiel”, in: Peters, *XII Congress*, pp. 201–224

R. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei der Septuaginta. Ein Beitrag zur Hebraismenfrage und zur Syntax der Koine* (Göttingen, 1928)

id., *Grammatik*

M. Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Kasus in der Septuaginta* (Berlin, 1910)

id., *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta*, MSU III, 3 (Göttingen, 1926)

J. Joosten, “A Septuagintal Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets: The Elimination of Verbal Repetition”, in: *Interpreting Translation*, pp. 217–223

P. Katz, “Zur Übersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta”, *WdO* 2 (1954–59), pp. 267–273

M.L. Margolis, “The Greek Preverb and Its Hebrew–Aramaic Equivalent”, *AJSL* 26 (1909), pp. 33–61

id., “The Mode of Expressing the Hebrew *‘āid* in the Greek Hexateuch”, *AJSL* 29 (1912–13), pp. 237–260

G. Marquis, “Word Order as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX and the Evaluation of Word-Order Variants as Exemplified in LXX-Ezekiel”, *Textus* 13 (1986), pp. 59–84

R.A. Martin, *The Syntax of the Greek of Jeremiah* (see chapter 2, n. 38)

T. Muraoka, “A Septuagint Greek Grammar, But of Which Text-Form or -Forms?”, *Estudios Bíblicos* 51 (1993), pp. 433–458

S. Olofsson, *God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint*, ConB, Old Testament Series 31 (Stockholm, 1990)

id., “Studying the Word Order of the Septuagint. Questions and Possibilities”, *SJOT* 10 (1996) 217–237

id., *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis—Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*, ConB, Old Testament Series 57 (Stockholm, 2009)

F.C. Putnam, *Representations of the Hebrew Predicators of Existence in the Septuagint*, PhD diss., Annenberg Research Institute (formerly: Dropsie University), Philadelphia, PA, 1990

C. Rabin, “The Ancient Versions and the Indefinite Subject”, *Textus* 2 (1962), pp. 60–76

J.H. Sailhamer, *The Translational Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3–41*, Studies in Biblical Greek 2 (New York, 1991)

Siebert, *Einführung*, pp. 121–286

I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, AASF B 132, 1 (Helsinki, 1965)

id., *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, AASF B 237 (Helsinki, 1987) <re-printing seventeen valuable studies>

R. Sollamo, “Some ‘Improper’ Prepositions such as ἐνώπιον, ἐναντίον, ἔναντι, etc., in the Septuagint and Early Koine Greek”, *VT* 25 (1975), pp. 773–782

ead., *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, AASF, Diss. Hum. Litt. 19 (Helsinki, 1979)

ead., “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch”, in: Cox, *VII Congress*, pp. 75–85

ead., “Repetitions of Prepositions in the Septuagint of Genesis”, in: *Interpreting Translation*, pp. 371–384

ead., “The Place of the Enclitic Personal Pronouns in the Old Greek Psalter”, in: Peters, *XII Congress*, pp. 153–160

ead., “Repetition of Possessive Pronouns in the Greek Psalter: The Use and Non-Use of Possessive Pronouns in Renderings of Hebrew Coordinate Items with Possessive Suffixes”, in: R.J.V. Hiebert et al. (eds.), *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield, 2001), pp. 44–53

ead. and S. Sipilä (eds.), *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82 (Helsinki/Göttingen, 2001)

J. Sternberg, *The Use of the Conditional Sentence in the Alexandrian Version of the Pentateuch* (Munich, 1908)

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id., *Grammar*

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id., “The Representation of the Causative Aspects of the *Hiph'il* in the LXX: A Study in Translation Technique” in id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 195–202

id., “Renderings of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs in the LXX: Their Nature and Distribution” in id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 247–256

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A. Voitila, *Présent et imparfait de l’indicatif dans le Pentateuque grec—une étude sur la syntaxe de traduction*, Publications de la société d’exégèse de Finlande 79 (Helsinki/Göttingen, 2001)

Walters, *Text*

A. Wifstrand, “Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina bei den Septuaginta”, *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* (Lund, 1950), pp. 44–70

B.G. Wright, “Quantitative Representation” (see p. 25)

J. Ziegler, “Die Wiedergabe der Nota Accusativ *’et*, *’aet*- mit σύν”, *BZAW* 100 (1988), pp. 222–233

Often the analysis of the translation technique of Aquila is relevant to the retroversion of the LXX, since sections of the “LXX” contain Aquila’s revision. See:

K. Hyvärinen, *Die Übersetzung von Aquila*, ConB, Old Testament Series 10 (Uppsala, 1977)

J. Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek–Hebrew & Hebrew–Greek Index to Aquila* (Philadelphia, 1916)

## 2. Intuition

The inadequacy of concordances and computer searches for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX cannot be emphasized too strongly. Not only is their usefulness limited (see 3.B excursus 1), but the data provided by the LXX itself are also, by definition, limited. Many equivalents occur only once in the LXX, and if there are no similar equivalents (based on *composita*, related words, etc.), one must resort to intuition. Indeed, in the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX, reliance on intuition is as important as consulting equivalents occurring elsewhere in the LXX, as shown by the following examples:

Jer 2:16	MT	יִרְעוּךָ קִרְקָר
		they will break <i>your head</i>
	LXX	ἐγνωσάν σε καὶ κατέπαιζόν σου
		they have known you and <i>mocked you</i>
	=	יִדְעוּךָ קִרְקָר ?

ἔγνωνσάν σε certainly reflects ידעוך instead of MT ירעוך. The second verb of the LXX probably reflects the letters קרקר (cf. Num 24:17 קרקר // Jer 48:45 קדקד), understood as “to play”, “to laugh”, similar to קרקר in rabbinic Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> However, no such equivalence is listed in HR. If indeed the presumed equivalent καταπαίζω—קרקר is correct, the precise form of the translation (*they mocked you*) should be considered a contextual adaptation by the translator.

Jer 2:16	LXX	καὶ ἐδιόσατο τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ βοστρύχους τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ
=		ותארי(י)ג את שבע מחלפות ראשו ?

As noted on p. 71, the greater part of this plus in the LXX can be retroverted reliably into Hebrew on the basis of equivalents in vv. 14, 19 and elsewhere. This certainty does not apply to διάζομαι (to set the warp in the loom), which occurs elsewhere only in Isa 19:10 and whose equivalent cannot be determined on the basis of that verse or of any of its compounds or derivatives. Nevertheless, its equivalent may be retroverted as ותארי(י)ג on the basis of תארגי (LXX: ὑφάνης) in v. 13. In the same verse, μετὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως must be retroverted as עם המסכת on the basis of v. 14b (apparently the translator derived this word from the root משיך; cf. Hos 7:5; 11:4, where ἐκτείνω reflects משיך).

It was stated earlier that reliable Greek–Hebrew equivalents as well as the scholar’s intuition may yield satisfactory retroversions. However, the translation techniques and the vocabulary often do not provide sufficient clues for the identification of elements in the *Vorlage*, certainly not of grammatical categories. Translation technique and vocabulary are the major source of information for the identification of details in the translators’ *Vorlage* when the translation is literal; but when it is paraphrastic or free, they are of little help in reconstructing its parent text. And even when the translation is relatively literal, they do not provide sufficient information for the reconstruction of all the details in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Not every feature of the Hebrew language exists in the target language and often it

9. See N. Tur-Sinai, *Leshonenu* 23 (1959), p. 203, where references to rabbinic Hebrew are also found. Cf. also כרכר, of similar meaning, for which more evidence is available; see Y. Avishur, “Krk in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic”, *VT* 26 (1976), pp. 257–261.

cannot even be expressed in the translation.<sup>10</sup> Thus, certain oppositions in Hebrew between synonymous words, constructions, prepositions and conjunctions, often cannot be recognized in the translation. Such uncertainty is felt especially in the reconstruction of pluses in the LXX. For instance, the plus in the LXX of Lev 10:9 can be retroverted in two ways:

ἢ προσπορευομένων ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον  
(or when you approach the altar [NETS])

reconstructed in <i>BH</i> as	או בקרבכם המזבח	
cf. Exod 40:32(LXX: 38:27)	ובקרבכם אל המזבח	– ἢ ὅταν προσπορεύωνται πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον
can also be reconstructed as:	או בגשתכם אל המזבח	
cf. Exod 28:43(39)	או בגשתכם אל המזבח	– ἢ ὅταν προσπορεύωνται λειτουργεῖν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον

On the retroversion of this plus, Margolis, “Complete Induction”, p. 303, notes: “Not even the particle is certain; for, though **או** will suggest it-self first, **ו** is quite as correct (comp. Exod 38:27 [40:32]”. Note that *BHS* refrains from a retroversion.

Similarly, in the retroversion of Bar. 2:12 ἡμάρτομεν ἡσεβήσαμεν ἡδικήσαμεν (we have sinned; we have been impious; we have done wrong [NETS]), it is hard to know whether the *qal* or *hiph‘il* forms of the last two verbs must be retroverted: חטאנו (ה)עוינו (ה)רשענו. The biblical texts on which the verse in Baruch is based (1 Kgs 8:47; Dan 9:5; 2 Chr 6:37) have different forms.

Problems of this type are encountered in the reconstruction of many verbal forms, and likewise with regard to prepositions, conjunctions and particles. For example, it is often very hard to know whether the reconstructed text should contain a connective *waw*, אשר, את, etc.

This uncertainty may be illustrated by a comparison of parallel Hebrew readings with a given Greek translation when one cannot decide which

10. For a discussion of similar problems in a related area, see the relevant chapters in: B.M. Metzger (ed.), *The Early Versions of the New Testament, Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford, 1977), e.g., pp. 83–98 (S.P. Brock, “Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek”).

reading was included in the *Vorlage* of the LXX. Some examples are taken from a comparison of the MT and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> in Isaiah with the LXX:

Isa 13:10	MT	(כי כוכבי השמים וכסיליהם) לא יהלו אורם Shall not give off their light ( <i>NJPS</i> )
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	לא יאירו אורם
	LXX	τὸ φῶς οὐ δώσουσι
Isa 13:16	MT <sup>K</sup>	(ישוּ בתיהם ונשיהם) תשגלנה
	MT <sup>Q</sup>	תשכבנה
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	ונשיהם ת[שכ]בנה
	LXX	καὶ τὰς γυναικας αὐτῶν ἔξουσιν
Isa 26:12	MT	תשפת שלום לנו
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	תשפוט שלום לנו
	LXX	εἰρήνην δὲς ἡμῖν
Isa 48:21	MT	(מים מצור) הזיל
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	הזיב
	LXX	ἐξάξει

In these instances, the general nature of the Greek equivalent does not allow for the identification of its *Vorlage*.

### 3. Textual probability

Many retroversions assume textual developments between readings, such as an interchange between similar-looking letters. Such retroversions should be likely from a textual point of view. That is, the retroverted reading should have developed by known procedures of textual change from the reading of MT or *vice versa*, or else its place in the textual history of the Hebrew text should be easily definable. For example, if an omission or interchange of letters is reconstructed, the reconstructed phenomenon should be likely at the textual level. Thus, one should be clear about the *script* in which the *Vorlage* of the LXX was written (see chapter 5.A excursus 3). Reconstructed textual phenomena are considered likely if they occur often in Hebrew manuscripts. For instance, assumed interchanges of מ/כ, ב/ו, ו/ר, ר/ד, as well as *metathesis*, are always likely from a textual point of view (see Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 227–234). Such interchanges need not be

illustrated here because they occur very frequently.<sup>11</sup> However, the form of the retranslation should follow one of the orthographical systems that was in vogue at the time of the translation, either the orthography of MT or that of one of the Qumran scrolls. For the latter, see Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta, GA, 1986); Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 100–104, and the literature quoted there. This allows for many orthographic possibilities, among them the orthography of some of the Qumran scrolls, from which we take this example:

Ps 104:17	MT	חסידה בְּרוּשִׁים בֵּיתָה (= T S V) The stork has her home in <i>the junipers</i> .
(103:17)	LXX	τοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ ἡ οἰκία ἡγεῖται αὐτῶν The house of the stork <i>leads them</i> .
	=	חסידה בְּרוּשִׁים בֵּיתָה
cf. Mic 2:13	וְה' בראשם –	... and the LORD shall lead them.

The spelling רוש—reconstructed as the *Vorlage* of the LXX—for ראש is well evidenced in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, pp. 166ff.; cf. also the etymological explanation of the name אחשוורוש as אחיו של ראש in *b. Meg.* 11a). Note further that the LXX of Jer 51(28):58 reflects a spelling בְּרוּאש (MT: בְּרִי אש) which is also evidenced in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (see p. 180).

Textual probability is not only a precondition for the correctness of retroversions; it may also yield specific retroversions. In other words, the graphic form of a given word in MT is often taken as a point of departure for specific retroversions, rather than the precise meaning of the words in the translation.

11. It is, however, worthwhile to illustrate the opposite situation, that is, retroversions which are unlikely from a textual point of view. This refers especially to many of the retroversions suggested by Wutz, *Transkriptionen* and id., *Systematische Wege*. Three such examples follow:

Job 19:29	חמה עונות חרב –	θυμὸς γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνόμους ἐπελεύσεται
	חמה עון תקרב –	(Wutz, <i>Transkriptionen</i> , p. 216)
Job 30:17	כפרץ רחב יאתיו –	κέχρηται μοι ὡς βούλεται
	כחפץ רחבו אתי –	(Wutz, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 214)
Job 37:10	ורחת מים במוצק –	οἰακίζει δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς ἐὰν βούληται
	יחבל מים כחפצו –	(Wutz, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 209).

Thus λύκος ἕως τῶν οἰκιῶν (a wolf until the houses) in Jer 5:6 is not retroverted as זאב עד (ה)בתים, as might have been expected from the plural form of οἰκιῶν, but rather as זאב עד בית, because this retroversion resembles זאב ערבות (a wolf of the steppes) of MT.<sup>12</sup> The retroversion is based on the assumption that the translator rendered בית contextually with a plural noun.

On the negative side, there are numerous examples of wrong retroversions which combine mechanical retroversion with the search for readings that graphically resemble their counterpart in MT. For example:

μη ἀπολέσης (do not destroy) for MT אל תנבל (כסא כבוד) (do not despise) in Jer 14:21 was retroverted by BHS as תחבל more on the basis of graphic similarity with MT than anything else. Previously, תאבד was reconstructed as its *Vorlage* (on the basis of the frequent equivalence ἀπόλλυμι—אבד [thus Cappellus in Schleusner, *Thesaurus*, s.v.]). Nevertheless, the LXX probably reflects אל תנבל of MT, since the semantic range of ἀπόλλυμι in the LXX is broader than in the Greek language in general, where it usually means “to destroy”.

Likewise, καὶ οὐκ εὐδόκησα ἐπὶ σοί (and I have taken no pleasure in you) in Jer 2:19 is an unusual translation of the unusual אֵלַי פְּחַדְתִּי אֵלַי (NRSV: the fear of me is not in you). Probably פְּחַדְתִּי was understood by the translator as a verbal form and exegetically rendered (cf. Jer 36[43]:16 פחדו איש אל רעהו—συνεβουλευσαντο ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ). However, on the basis of the graphical form of the Hebrew word, scholars retroverted the *Vorlage* of εὐδόκησα as בחרתי (Schleusner, *Thesaurus*, s.v.), חפצתי (cf. the LXX of Isa 62:4), חדתי (cf. Exod 18:9 MT) or חמדתי (cf. the LXX of Ps 68[67]:17).

In some cases, more than one retranslation of a given Greek word is based on the principle of graphic similarity to a word in MT: κατήγαγες (you have brought down; MT: הגדלת—you have magnified) in Isa 9:2 has been retroverted as הורדת (cf., e.g., the LXX of Gen 39:1), הגרית (Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, p. 237) and הרגלת (Schleusner, *Thesaurus*, s.v.). None of these reconstructions is convincing.<sup>13</sup>

In Prov 3:8, τῷ σώματί σου (to your body) is retroverted in BH as לְבִשְׁךָ instead of לְשִׁמְךָ (רפאות תהי) in MT (to your navel?). This retroversion is based on the general similarity between the two Hebrew words. It should, however, be noted that in Proverbs, בשר is rendered by σὰρξ (4:22; 5:11; 26:10 [MT שֶׁכַּר]), while σῶμα renders שֶׁמֶר in 5:11 (בְּשִׁמְךָ וּשְׁמֶרְךָ) and

12. Note that most versions found difficulty in rendering MT.

13. For details see Goshen-Gottstein, “Theory”, p. 150.

11:17. Hence it is probably more correct to retrovert the LXX as לְשֹׁרֶךְ reflecting לְשֹׁרֶךְ? (the quiescent *ʾaleph* was either omitted by a scribe or disregarded by the translator, cf. p. 154).<sup>14</sup>

#### 4. Linguistic plausibility

The first precondition for correct retroversion is textual probability. The second is plausibility from the point of view of the grammar, vocabulary and style of the Hebrew Bible, especially of the book in which the reading is found (cf. Margolis, “Complete Induction”, p. 303). This, however, is a rather loose criterion, for the grammatical correctness of the retroversions is not a necessary precondition for their legitimacy, as retroverted Hebrew variants may be secondary within the history of the biblical text. Some variants are “unusual” from the point of view of grammar, vocabulary, style, or context. Thus, while ideally retroverted variants should fit their context and be correct linguistically, etc., some reliable retroversions produce variants that are contextually implausible or linguistically incorrect. Nevertheless, this implausibility does not undermine the reliability of the retroversion. *The correctness of a given retroversion should not be confused with its originality within the history of the biblical text.* To give an illustration from the realm of Hebrew grammar:

Jer 2:20	MT	אַתְּ צֶעֶה זֹנָה <i>you bend like a harlot</i>
	LXX	ἐκεῖ διαχυθήσομαι ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ μου <i>there I shall be spread abroad in my fornication</i>
	=	אַתְּ צֶעֶה זֹנָה*

διαχυθήσομαι must probably be retroverted as אַתְּ צֶעֶה\* (presumably ἐκεῖ was added contextually). However, the retroverted אַתְּ צֶעֶה\* creates a morphologically unlikely form (rather: אַצְטֶעֶה) whose meaning is unclear. In spite of the unlikely form, only this reconstruction seems to account for the unusual translation.

Jer 6:25	MT	חָרֵב לְאִיֵּב מִגֹּר מִסְכִּיב <i>the enemy has a sword, terror is on every side</i>
	LXX	ῥομφαία τῶν ἐχθρῶν παροικεῖ κυκλόθεν <i>the sword of the enemies dwells on every side</i>
	=	חָרֵב לְאִיֵּבֵיכֶם גֵּר מִסְכִּיב

14. Thus de Lagarde, *Proverbien*, *ad loc.*

The Greek translator undoubtedly read his *Vorlage* as indicated above (the two Hebrew texts differ “only” with regard to *matres lectionis* and word-division, cf. chapter 5.A excursus 1). In other verses in Jeremiah, too, he, so to speak, evaded מגור in his translation (see 20:10 and 46(26):5; similarly Ps 31(30):14; cf. Tov, *Jeremiah*, p. 54 and p. 178 below). In Jer 6:25, the translator probably read גר . . . חרב, thus incorrectly taking חרב as a masculine noun (it is feminine in both biblical and postbiblical Hebrew). However, the retroversion itself should be considered correct.

Deut 26:12	MT	(. . . בשנה השלישית) שְׁנַת המעשר (ונתתה . . . ) (. . . in the third year), <i>the year</i> of the tithe (giving it to . . . )
	LXX	τὸ δευτέρων ἐπιδέκατον (δώσεις . . . )
	=	שְׁנַת המעשר the <i>second</i> tithe (literally: secondly [fem.], the tithe [masc.] )

The rendering of the LXX is based on a wrong grammatical combination of two words, שְׁנַת המעשר, yet the retroversion itself is well founded. The translator must have known the concept of a “second tithe”, known from rabbinic literature referring to the tithe of Deuteronomy, while this term is not used in Scripture.<sup>15</sup> However, the ungrammatical retroversion is probably based on the combination of two words that were understood wrongly.

With regard to retroversions of this type, it is important to draw attention to the *caveat* to be formulated in section B.3 below concerning the existence of retroverted variants.

When confronted with grammatically unlikely retroversions like the ones described above, it should be borne in mind that retroversions should follow the grammar and lexical understanding of the translator rather than the modern scholar’s understanding of Hebrew philology. For instance, many biblical words were explained by the translators according to their

15. If there is an intention behind this rendering, the “second tithe” of Deut 26:12–19 in the LXX either refers back to the tithe of Deut 14:22–27 as the “first tithe” (when disregarding the tithe of Num 18:21–32), or represents the “second tithe” in accordance with the system of the rabbis in which the tithe of Num 18:21–32 forms the “first tithe”. For a discussion of the halakhic consequences, see Ch. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 30–31 and id., ששה סדרי משנה סדר זרעים (Tel Aviv, 1958), p. 243.

meaning in Aramaic<sup>16</sup> or postbiblical Hebrew, and this must be taken into consideration for retroversions, as shown in the following examples:

Ps 23(22):4	MT	בגיא צלמות
		in the <i>valley</i> of darkness
	LXX	ἐν μέσῳ σκιᾶς θανάτου
		in the <i>middle</i> of the shadow of death
	=	בגוא צל <sup>a</sup> מות

a. On this vocalization, cf. Grabbe, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 27–29; D.W. Thomas, “צלמות in the Old Testament”, *JSS* 7 (1962), pp. 191–200.

The translation reflects the Aramaic בגוא (in the middle). Cf. similarly:

Jer 49:19(29:20)	MT	מגאון הירדן
		from the <i>majesty</i> of the Jordan
	LXX	ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
		from the <i>middle</i> of the Jordan
	=	מגוא הירדן
Gen 49:10	MT	עד כי יבא שילה
		until (he?) comes (to?) Shilo
	LXX	ἕως ἃν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ <sup>a</sup>
		until there come the things <i>stored up for him</i>
	=	עד כי יבא שׁ(י)לה

a. For the equivalent, cf. the translation of Hab 2:6 לא לר המרבה—ὁ πληθύνων ἑαυτῷ τὰ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ.

To the best of our knowledge, שׁ used separately or with the inclusion of a pronominal suffix as in (שׁ)לה was not yet in use at the time of Jacob's blessing or when the book of Genesis was composed. However, this linguistic information does not invalidate the retroversion,<sup>17</sup> for at the time of the translation שׁ was used in places where biblical Hebrew employed -אשר ל.<sup>18</sup>

16. For bibliography of renderings of this type, as well as for further examples, see chapter 4.A.2 and the excursus after chapter 5.D.

17. The retroversion is supported by S and T<sup>O,N</sup> and by the *Midrash Rabba ad loc.* See further Prijs, *Tradition*, pp. 67–69.

18. This usage is first found in the late biblical books, cf. Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 36 and M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 43–44.

## 5. External support

Before the Qumran discoveries, elements in the LXX that differed from MT were reconstructed with the aid of intuition and parallel biblical passages, while some harmonizing pluses in the LXX could be reconstructed with the aid of parallel evidence in the Sam. Pent. However, several retroversions are now supported by external sources. The most welcome support is provided by Hebrew Qumran scrolls, especially non-Masoretic copies (see chapter 6.B.1), but it is also to be found in biblical quotations in the non-biblical Qumran scrolls (e.g., the Temple Scroll, 11QT<sup>a</sup>), in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., the book of Jubilees), and in other indirect witnesses. Examples of significant agreements with these sources are analyzed in Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 286–326. Here are some examples of agreements in *small* details between the reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>:<sup>19</sup>

Isa 21:2	MT	(עלי עילם) צורי (מדי)	
	LXX	καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις	= וצירי (cf. LXX 13:8; 57:9)
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	צירי	
Isa 23:10	MT	עברי (ארצך כיאר)	
	LXX	ἐργάζου	= עברי (cf. <i>passim</i> )
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	עבדי	
Isa 36:11	MT	(ואל תדבר אלינו יהודית באזני) העם	
	LXX	τῶν ἀνθρώπων	= האנשים
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	האנשים (cf. p. 19)	
Isa 45:2	MT	(אני לפניך אלך) והדורים (אשר : Q/K אושר)	
	LXX	καὶ ὄρη	= והררים
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>		והררים

See further the following agreements between the LXX and one of the Qumran scrolls discussed elsewhere in this book: Deut 31:1 (p. 67); Deut 32:8, 1 Sam 1:23 (both: pp. 146–147); 1 Sam 1:24 (p. 130); 1 Sam 2:25 (p. 94); 2 Sam 14:30 (p. 72).

In the case of 4QJer<sup>b, d</sup> and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> the external support for reconstructing the *Vorlage* of the LXX is extremely illuminating because of the

19. In fact, for several agreements of this type, the retroversions had been suggested before the Qumran scrolls were found. It so happened that these scrolls thus supported some existing retroversions.

degree of agreement between these scrolls and the LXX in significant details. See chapter 6.B.1.

On the other hand, corresponding content in a Hebrew non-Masoretic variant and the LXX (or any other ancient version) may be misleading. Each case should be analyzed individually and the nature of each source should be taken into consideration. Such correspondence often resulted from *independent* exegetical traditions and in such cases the Hebrew variants do not necessarily support the retroversion of a variant from the LXX, as illustrated by the following examples:

Gen 2:2	MT	(ויכל אלהים ביום) השביעי (On) the seventh (day God finished the work).
	LXX	τῇ ἑκτῇ On the sixth (day)

The LXX agrees with the Sam. Pent. (הששי) and S in reading “sixth” for “seventh” of MT. This reading probably derived from contextual theological harmonization because it was found difficult to explain how God could finish his work “on the seventh day” without having worked on that day. It is impossible to determine whether the easier reading of the LXX was based on an actual variant הששי or whether the exegetical tendency developed independently in all three sources.

Isa 32:6	MT	ולבו יעשה און and his heart will <i>perform</i> iniquity
	LXX	καὶ ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ μάταια νοήσῃ and his heart will <i>consider</i> idle things

The similarity between νοήσῃ of the LXX and the variant חושב of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> for MT יעשה may point to the existence of such a variant at the base of the LXX. However, in the LXX νοέω does not represent the root חשב (note further that in Isaiah this verb is always rendered by λογίζομαι). Hence the agreement between the LXX and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> probably resulted from independent common exegesis.<sup>20</sup> Similar exegesis is reflected in T מתעשתין.

20. Thus H.M. Orlinsky, “Studies in the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll”, *JBL* 69 (1950), pp. 152–155; S. Talmon, “The Variant Readings and 1QIsa”, *Auerbach Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1956 [Hebrew]), p. 150; id., *Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible: Collected Studies* (Winona Lake, IN, 2010), p. 123.

Likewise, the ancient versions and extra-Masoretic Hebrew variants often agree in elements which remove grammatical irregularities of MT, such as the interchange of singular and plural forms and “inconsistency” in the use of verbal forms. In these matters one cannot determine whether or not the LXX presupposes a variant (see chapter 5.C), even if such an assumption seems to be supported by the existence of similar variants in Hebrew sources. In the latter case, the same development could have taken place *independently* in the LXX and an ancient Hebrew source. For example:

1 Sam 2:4	MT	קשת גברים חתים
	4QSam <sup>a</sup>	[קשת גבורי]ם חתה
	LXX	τόξον δυνατῶν ἡσθένησεν

The Greek translation of חתה (sg.) and חתים (pl.) would have been identical in the given syntactical situation, so that the *Vorlage* of the LXX cannot be determined in this verse. Similar difficulties exist with regard to the Greek translation of attracted forms in Isa 21:17 and Job 38:21 (cf. Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 146a).

Isa 1:23	MT	(שוריק סוררים וחברי גנבים) כלו אהב (שחד) ורדף (שלמנים)
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	כולם אוהבי . . . רודפי
	LXX	ἀγαπῶντες . . . διώκοντες
Isa 14:24	MT	(כאשר דמיתי) כן היתה (וכאשר יעצתי) היא תקום
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	כן תהיה . . . היא תקום
	LXX	οὕτως ἔσται . . . οὕτως μενεῖ
Isa 30:20	MT	(עוד מוריך) יכנף (ולא)
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	יכנפו
	LXX	ἐγγίσωσί σοι
Isa 44:13	MT	נטה (יתארהו . . . יעשהו . . . יתארהו ויעשהו)
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	נטהו
	LXX	ἔστησεν αὐτό (cf. also v. 12)

Many additional examples of extra-Masoretic agreements between the LXX and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> were listed by J. Ziegler, “Die Vorlage der Isaias-Septuaginta (LXX) und die erste Isaias-Rolle von Qumran (1QIs<sup>a</sup>)”, *JBL* 78 (1959), pp. 34–59. All these agreements should be evaluated critically.

The LXX also agrees with several variants found in *medieval Hebrew manuscripts* against the mainstream of the MT tradition. However, while agreements between the LXX and ancient Hebrew sources might reflect interdependence, the likelihood of such a relationship with medieval Hebrew manuscripts is much smaller. The nature of these agreements makes it likely that deviations in the LXX and Hebrew manuscripts developed independently.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the medieval manuscripts cannot be taken as a single entity, as is often done in analyses of this issue.<sup>22</sup> One should, rather, attempt to locate *individual* manuscripts that agree significantly with the LXX.<sup>23</sup> Until such manuscripts are found, most

21. Some examples are listed here:

(1) lexical variants:

1 Kgs 11:20	MT	בֵּית <sup>1</sup>	Kenn. MSS 23, 154, 182, 271A, 283A בְּנִי; LXX: υἱῶν
1 Kgs 12:12	MT	רַחֲבָעַם	Kenn. MS 202 הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבָעַם; LXX: τὸν βασιλέα Ποβοῶμ
Jer 9:6	MT	צְבָאוֹת	de Rossi MSS 60 1092* om. = LXX
Jer 9:14	MT	צְבָאוֹת	de Rossi MS 1092* om. = LXX
Jer 13:3	MT	שְׁנִית	de Rossi MS 1092* om. = LXX
Jer 23:10	MT	אֵלֶּה	de Rossi MSS 295 715* אֵלֶּה; LXX: τούτων (= S)

(2) grammatical harmonizations:

Jer 2:23	MT	(דרכיה . . .) דֶּרֶךְ	de Rossi MS 211 דֶּרֶכֶךְ; LXX: τὰς ὁδοὺς σου
Isa 1:23	MT	(שְׁלֹמֹנִים) וְרֹדֶף (שָׁחַד) אָהָב	(שְׁרִיךְ סוֹרְרִים וְחֹבְרֵי גִבֻּסִּים כָּלוּ) Kenn. MS 96* אֹהֲבֵי; Kenn. MSS 96* 109 וְרֹדֶפִי
	LXX		ἀγαπῶντες . . . διώκοντες (cf. above)
Isa 21:16	MT	(שְׁכִיר) כֶּשֶׁן (שָׁחַד) כֶּשֶׁן	(כֶּשֶׁן); de Rossi MS 380* כֶּשֶׁן; LXX: ὡς ἐν ἑαυτῷ

22. Thus J.B. de Rossi, *Scholia critica in Veteris Testamenti libros seu supplementa ad varias sacri textus lectiones* (Parma, 1798); J. Hempel, "Innermasoretische Bestätigungen des Samaritanus", *ZAW* 52 (1934), pp. 254–274; J.W. Wevers, "A Study in the Hebrew Variants in the Books of Kings", *ZAW* 61 (1945–48), pp. 43–76; W.A. Beling, *The Hebrew Variants in the First Book of Samuel Compared with the Old Greek and the Greek Recensions*, PhD diss., Princeton University, 1947; H. Gese, "Die hebräische Bibelhandschriften zum Dodekapropheton nach der Variantensammlung des Kennicott", *ZAW* 69 (1957), pp. 55–69.

23. Thus M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts, Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition", *Bib* 48 (1967), pp. 276ff. For a discussion, see Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 38–39.

agreements between the LXX and medieval Hebrew manuscripts should probably be disregarded.

### B. The Nature of Retroverted Variants

Electronic tools: The differences between the LXX and MT (as well as many features in translation technique and other areas) are indicated in the CATSS module in *Accordance*, *BibleWorks*, *Logos*, and *SESB*. Resident morphological analyses allow for a wide range of comparative searches and concordances, the latter in *Accordance* only. For a list, see <http://www.kalvesmaki.com/LXX/>.

#### 1. Some types of reliable retroversions

No retroversion—with the exception of some personal names<sup>24</sup>—is beyond doubt, but some types of retroversions are more reliable than others:

α. *Retroversions supported by scribal errors in Hebrew.* Hebrew manuscripts contain many variants that originated in the transmission of the biblical text. When two or more variant readings are recognized in different Hebrew manuscripts, and when these are scribal variations of each other, only one of the readings may be considered original. This applies especially to textual errors, e.g., the interchange of similar-looking letters. Whenever such an interchange is recognized, it is the task of the scholar to determine which of the two (or more) readings is original or comes close to the original text (for the theoretical background, see chapters 1.C and 7).

Similar decisions must be made with regard to variants retroverted from the ancient versions. One often reconstructs a variant from an ancient version that is graphically close to the reading of MT while inferring that one of the two readings developed from the other. This procedure forms the basis for a methodological rule: if a reading reconstructed from an ancient version was developed by way of corruption from the reading of MT or *vice versa*—especially in the case of interchange of letters—and if the Hebrew words are remote from one another with regard to content, the retroversion is plausible.<sup>25</sup> To give two examples:

24. If the Greek manuscript tradition is not complex, and if the content of the Greek transliteration clearly points to a given Hebrew name, the reconstruction of that name is relatively simple because no exegesis is involved.

25. Margolis, “Complete Induction”, p. 303 stressed this consideration as the most important criterion for the evaluation of retroversions, when stating: “It may be even laid down as a canon that *certainty of identification is possible only when the translator has misread or misinterpreted the original*”.

Jer 23:9	MT	הייתי כאיש שכור וכגבר עֲבָרוּ יין (= T S V) I was like a <i>drunken</i> man, and like a man overcome by wine.
	LXX	ἐγενήθην ὡς ἀνὴρ συντετριμμένος καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος συνεχόμενος ἀπὸ οἴνου I was like a <i>broken</i> man, and like a man overcome by wine.
	=	הייתי כאיש שָׁבוֹר וכגבר עֲבָרוּ יין

It is easy to see that שכור (*drunken*) is reflected in the LXX as the similar-looking שָׁבוֹר (*broken*; cf. שָׁבַר—συντρίβω *passim* in the LXX). In our view, as long as συντετριμμένος is not considered an exegetically motivated rendering or textually corrupt on the inner-Greek level, the assumption of a graphical interchange of the two readings שכור (MT) and שָׁבוֹר (LXX) is very likely. The reconstructed variant is graphically very close to the reading of MT (*kaph* and *beth* often interchange in Hebrew manuscripts). The variant itself may have been influenced by נשבר לבי, “my heart is broken”, at the beginning of the verse.

2 Sam 6:14	MT	ודוד מכרכר בכל עז and David danced with <i>all</i> his might
	LXX	καὶ Δαυὶδ ἀνεκρούετο ἐν ὀργάνοις ἡρμουςμένοις and David sounded with well-tuned <i>instruments</i>
	=	ודוד מכרכר בכלי עז

β. *Retroversions supported by Hebraisms in the LXX.* As a logical result of the technique of stereotyped rendering in the LXX described in chapter 1.E.2, many such renderings transfer meanings of Hebrew words and constructions to their Greek equivalents without regard for Greek idiom. Sometimes an isolated parallel to the Hebraism may be spotted in a Greek source, but if the word or element occurs so frequently that its appearance is conditioned by Hebrew rather than Greek usage, it should be considered a Hebraism.<sup>26</sup>

26. Hebraisms have been recognized in the LXX from the early days of the critical study of the Greek Bible, and hence the bibliography on this aspect of the language of the LXX is very extensive. Early studies were discussed by J. Ros, *De studie van het Bijbelgrieks van Hugo Grotius tot Adof Deissmann* (Nijmegen, 1940). See further I. Soisalon-Soininen, “Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage”, in: *Studien zur Septuaginta*, pp. 35–51. Later studies were analyzed by J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical*

The occurrence of syntactical Hebraisms in the LXX is mainly significant for the analysis of its language, but at times Hebraisms also bear on text-critical issues. The argument developed here runs as follows: whenever a syntactical Hebraism occurs in the LXX *that is not supported by any corresponding element in MT*, it may be retranslated into a Hebrew reading differing from MT. After all, to the best of our knowledge, the translators did not introduce syntactical Hebraisms when these were not called for by the source language. This assumption, which is not accepted by all scholars, deserves a more extensive discussion than is possible in the present context. The following are some syntactical Hebraisms that in our view are based on Hebrew variants:

Gen 35:22	MT	ישמע ישראל and Israel heard
	LXX	καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πονηρὸν ἐφάνη ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ and Israel heard, and it seemed evil in his sight (NETS)
	=	ישמע ישראל וירע בעיניו (cf. in a different context Gen 38:10 MT LXX)

The italicized phrase, which occurs *passim* in the Hebrew Bible, should be considered Hebraistic.

Exod 20:24	MT	בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי (in every place where I cause) My name (to be mentioned)
	LXX	(ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ οὗ ἐὰν ἐπονομάσω) τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ My name there
	=	את שמי שם

The repetition of οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ should be considered Hebraistic; cf. Margolis, "Mode of Expressing" (see p. 76 above).

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*Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SBLSCS 14; Chico, CA, 1983), chapter II. Cf. also Walters, *Text*, pp. 155–196; N. Turner's vol. IV of J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Style* (Edinburgh, 1976); C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (2nd ed.; Cambridge, 1959), pp. 171–191; and E. Tov, "Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings", in: id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 109–128. See further Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 12.

Judg 14:10	MT	ויעש שם שמשון משתה
		and Samson made a feast there
	LXX	καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ Σαμψων πότον ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ
		and Samson made there a feast <i>for days seven</i>
	=	<u>ויעש שם שמשון משתה ימים שבעה</u>

The unusual sequence of the words in the plus of the LXX (contrast v. 12 שבעת ימי המשתה and v. 17 המשתה היה להם) betrays its Hebrew background (cf. Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 134c).

1 Sam 2:25	MT	אם יחטא
	LXX	ἐὰν ἀμαρτάνων ἀμάρτη
	=	אם חטוא יחטא, cf. 4QSam <sup>a</sup> : [אם] חטוא [יחטא]

The combination of the infinitive absolute and the finite verbal form is Hebraistic (cf. Tov, “Renderings” [see p. 77]). For similar pluses in the LXX, see Jer 3:1; 22:24; 31(38):33; 32(39):28; 34(41):2; 51(28):57.

Jer 27:3 (34:2)	MT	ירושלם ושלחתם . . . ביד מלאכים הבאים
		(and send them . . . by envoys) who have come to Jerusalem
	LXX	τῶν ἐρχομένων εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ
		who are coming <i>to meet them</i> in Jerusalem
	=	הבאים לקראתם ירושלם

The equivalence εἰς ἀπάντησιν—לקראת occurs *passim* in the LXX.

For similar examples, see the addition of λέγων, λέγοντες, etc. in the LXX of Gen 4:25; 17:17; Deut 9:28, where MT does not contain a corresponding לאמר.

γ. *Retroversions of variants that are preferable to the readings of MT.* If a retroverted reading is based on a well-supported Greek–Hebrew equivalence, and if it is contextually preferable to the reading of MT, the reconstruction should be considered reliable. The background of this argument is that it would have been unusual if the LXX translators had preserved such a preferable reading coincidentally or changed their underlying text to that preferable reading. Rather, it is more natural to assume that the translators found such a reading in their *Vorlage*. Since reasoning of this type is subjective, this criterion presents little more than a general guideline. However, it

is important to invoke this criterion when there is a strong case in favor of the retroverted reading. Two examples follow:

2 Sam 14:16	MT	<p>מֶלֶךְ הָאִישׁ לְהַשְׁמִיד (כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ לְהַצִּיל אֶת אִמְתּוֹ) אֶתִּי וְאֶת בְּנִי</p> <p>(for the king will listen to deliver his maid-servant) from the hand of the man <i>to destroy</i> me and my son</p>
	LXX	<p>ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ζητοῦντος ἐξῆραί με καὶ τὸν υἱόν μου</p> <p>from the hand of the man <i>who seeks</i> to destroy me and my son</p>
	=	<p>מֶלֶךְ הָאִישׁ הַמְּבַקֵּשׁ לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתִּי וְאֶת בְּנִי</p>

In MT an element is lacking between *הָאִישׁ* and *לְהַשְׁמִיד* (note the addition in NRSV: “the man who *would* destroy”). At this place in the sentence the LXX contains an additional element that may be retroverted as *הַמְּבַקֵּשׁ* and which gives the impression of an element that is lacking in the context. The retroversion is reliable not only because of the frequent equivalence *בִּקֵּשׁ*—*ζητέω* in the LXX, but also because of the literal character of the translation of this chapter, ascribed to the *kaige*-Th. reviser (see chapter 1.D). In addition, the possibility of a haplographic omission *הָאִישׁ הַמְּבַקֵּשׁ* also supports the retroversion.

Josh 6:18	MT	<p>וְרַק אַתֶּם שְׁמַרּוּ מִן הָחֵרֶם פֶּן תַּחְרִימוּ וּלְקַחְתֶּם מִן הָחֵרֶם</p> <p>but you, keep yourselves from the <i>herem</i>, lest when you have devoted (them) you will take from the <i>herem</i></p>
	LXX	<p>ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς φυλάξασθε σφόδρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναθέματος μήποτε ἐνθυμηθέντες ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ λάβητε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναθέματος</p> <p>but you, keep yourselves strictly from the devoted thing, lest when you covet you yourselves will take from the devoted thing</p>

*פֶּן תַּחְרִימוּ* of MT creates the impression of a contextually inappropriate reading because of the threefold repetition of the same idea. Furthermore, the meaning that is required here for *תַּחְרִימוּ* is not paralleled elsewhere. *μήποτε ἐνθυμηθέντες* of the LXX undoubtedly reflects *פֶּן תַּחְמַדוּ* (cf. the

frequent equivalence of ἐνθυσμέομαι, ἐπιθυσμέομαι—חמד in the LXX), and this reading is preferable in the present context, especially in view of the wording of 7:21 ואחמדם ואקחם, which refers to our verse. Therefore the retroversion of the *Vorlage* of the LXX should be considered reliable.

A similar argument can be developed with regard to the retroversion of the LXX of 1 Sam 9:25–26 mentioned on p. 106.

## 2. Doubtful retroversions

In the preceding pages the reader has often been warned that only some elements of the *Vorlage* of the LXX can be retroverted into Hebrew. But since our discussion has been centered on these elements, the impression may have been created that despite the difficulties the retroversion of many elements is a distinct possibility. It should therefore be stressed once again that in those translation units that do not present literal translations, one is often in doubt about the *Vorlage* of deviations. This applies to all deviations, i.e., pluses, minuses and differences. For example:

Hos 13:5	MT	ידעתִיךָ במדבר בארץ תלאבות
		I have known you in the wilderness, in a land of drought
	LXX	ἐγὼ ἐποίμαινόν σε ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν γῇ ἀοικήτῳ I tended you as a shepherd in the wilderness, in an uninhabited land
	= ?	ידעתִיךָ במדבר בארץ לא בית

תלאבות occurs only here in Scripture, and this word may therefore have been unknown to the translator, who rendered it according to the context. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the translator was thinking of לא בית, since elsewhere the privative α- represents לא and οἰκ- represents בית. For similar renderings in the LXX, see Tov, “Compound Words”. If the LXX indeed presupposes לא בית (cf. Deut 32:21, Jer 2:2), the graphic similarity between this reconstructed reading and MT תלאבות is easily recognized. Furthermore, ἐποίμαινόν σε of the LXX probably reflects the root רעה instead of ידעתִיךָ of MT.

1 Sam 15:17	MT	ויאמר שמואל
	LXX	καὶ εἶπεν Σαμουηλ πρὸς Σαουλ

This example illustrates the difficulty in evaluating additions and omissions of personal names in the LXX (and, for that matter, in all ancient versions). The brevity of the style of the biblical narrative created many situations in which Hebrew scribes and translators felt the need to add names that were implicit in the biblical text, but were not mentioned explicitly. For a discussion, see Driver, *Samuel*, pp. 47ff.; Schreiner, *Richter*, p. 19; A. Sperber, "Hebrew Based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission", *HUCA* 14 (1939), pp. 242–243.

In the verse under investigation, it cannot be determined whether the translator added the personal name or whether this name was already found in his *Vorlage*. The evidence seems to incline towards the latter possibility, since a similar addition is found in Hebrew manuscripts, S and manuscripts of T.

Deut 2:27	MT	בדרך בדרך אלך
		on the highway <i>on the highway</i> I will travel
	LXX	ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πορεύσομαι
		on the highway I will travel

It is impossible to tell whether the translator shortened the text for inner-Greek stylistic reasons, whether he omitted one of the two identical words by way of haplography, or whether he had a shorter text in front of him. This also applies to similar stylistic patterns:

1 Sam 2:3	MT	גבהה גבהה
	LXX	ὕψηλά
Judg 5:3	MT	אנכי לה' אנכי אשירה
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	ἐγὼ τῷ κυρίῳ ᾄσομαι
Josh 22:32	MT	מאת בני ראובן ומאת בני גד
	LXX +	καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμίσεος φυλῆς Μανασση

Similar additions of the phrase "half the tribe of Manasseh" are found in the LXX in verses 33 and 34 of the same chapter. It seems that the shorter textual tradition (MT), which lacks the phrase and which is reflected also in Num 32:2, 6, 25, 29, 31 (MT and LXX), represents the original text of these verses in Joshua. At some stage, the short formula was expanded (cf. v. 30), as often occurred elsewhere, e.g., in the MT of Num 32:33 and in the Sam. Pent. in several verses in the same chapter (vv. 2, 6, 25, 29, 31). The LXX

of Joshua thus reflects an expanded text, but it is impossible to determine whether the expansions derived from the Greek translator or from his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The same doubts apply to most instances of harmonistic additions or changes in the LXX. For examples, see Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 34ff.; Prijs, *Tradition*, pp. 84–99, and for the problems involved, see E. Tov, “Midrash-Type Exegesis in the LXX of Joshua”, *RB* 85 (1978), pp. 50–61. See further J. Schildenberger, “Parallelstellen als Ursache von Textveränderungen”, *Bib* 40 (1959), pp. 188–198; J.G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, HSM 6 (Cambridge, MA, 1973), pp. 34–68 (“Additions from Parallel and Related Contexts”). In a few cases, however, it can be substantiated that the harmonization occurred at the translation stage. See the analysis of the LXX of Gen 1:9 by E. Tov, “The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts”, *JSOT* 31 (1985), pp. 3–29, esp. pp. 19–22 (including bibliography on other ancient versions) and id., “Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy”, in: *HB, GB, and Qumran*, pp. 271–282.

### 3. The existence of retroverted variants

Finally, something must be said about the very existence *in writing* of retroverted variants. These retroverted readings have been discussed here as if they were a well-defined group. The reader may have received the impression that every reliably retroverted variant was once found in the manuscript from which the translation was made. However, the situation is much more complicated; even if a retroverted variant bears all the marks of a well-supported reading, *such a reading may never have existed anywhere but in the translator's mind* (for a similar argument, see Barr, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 238–239). This applies in particular to retroverted variants that resulted from textual corruption, for, as a rule, one cannot know whether the mistake was made by the translator who misread his *Vorlage*, or was already found in his Hebrew source. Thus returning to some of the examples presented earlier, we do not know who read העבדים in 1 Sam 13:3 (p. 64), עברים in 1 Sam 17:8 (p. 64), גרם in Gen 49:14 (p. 69), etc. One additional example should be mentioned here. An obvious error is reflected in the LXX of 1 Sam 21:8, where Doeg—always an Edomite in MT—is called ὁ Σύρος, which should be retroverted as הארמי (the Aramean). It is impossible to know whether the *Vorlage* of the LXX actually read הארמי by an interchange of *daleth* and *resh* or whether the translator created this “variant” by misreading הארמי as הארמי.

There are hardly any criteria for distinguishing between retroverted variants existing in writing and similar variants existing only in the translator's mind.<sup>27</sup> It is important to stress this point, because not all scholars use the term "variant" in the same way.<sup>28</sup> Some use the terms "variant" and *Vorlage*<sup>29</sup> with the incorrect implication<sup>30</sup> that every retroverted reading actually existed in writing.<sup>31</sup> In our view, even the most reliable retroversions of variants refer to readings that may not have existed in writing. Due to lack of suitable controls, retroverted variants that existed only in the mind of a translator are also called variants.

In conclusion, when retroverting, one has to pay constant attention to the methodological presuppositions of this procedure. At a second stage, when evaluating a retroverted variant (see chapter 7), that variant is evaluated as if it were a Hebrew reading.

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27. H. Hrozný, *Die Abweichungen des Codex Vaticanus vom hebräischen Texte in den Königsbüchern* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 52–72 distinguishes between "deviations ascribed to the translator" and "deviations ascribed to a different *Vorlage*". However, the application of this distinction is very problematic since most of the deviations listed in Hrozný's first group refer to possible variants.

28. If one claims that a reliably reconstructed variant existed merely in the mind of a translator (as indeed can be demonstrated in a few such retroversions), the variant is called—in our terminology—a "pseudo-variant". See below, chapter 5.D.

29. Possibly the very use of the term *Vorlage* (that is, the text that lay in front of the translators) contributes to the misconception.

30. For example, Margolis, "Scope", p. 21.

31. It is misleading to use the term "real variant", as some scholars do, for any deviation in an ancient translation either reflects a variant or it does not. There exists no opposition between variants and real variants.

# EXCURSUS 1

## THE USE OF CONCORDANCES IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE *VORLAGE* OF THE LXX

Locating and recording the Greek–Hebrew equivalents of the LXX and MT is of great importance for reconstructing *presumed* equivalents between the LXX and its Hebrew *Vorlage* when the *extant* (formal) equivalents are suspect. These formal equivalents merely denote the Hebrew words in whose *place* the words in the LXX stand. Since the use of printed concordances and electronic tools (see excursus 2) is indispensable for this procedure, it is helpful to know what is available in this field.

Of special importance are those concordances that list Greek–Hebrew equivalents (see below). Of partial help are concordances that list Greek words only, such as C. Kircher, *Concordantiae Veteris Testamenti graecae ebraeis vocibus respondententes* . . . (Frankfurt a.M., 1607); G. Morrish, *A Handy Concordance of the Septuagint, Giving Various Readings from Codices Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and Ephraemi* (London, 1887; repr. 1970). On these concordances, as well as that of Trommius to be described below, see E.F.C. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, I (Göttingen, 1797), pp. 449–455; H.E. Bindseil, “Ueber die Concordanzen”, *TSK* 43 (1870), pp. 693–696; H.A. Redpath, “Concordances to the Old Testament in Greek”, *The Expositor* V, 13 (1896), pp. 69–77.

Similar printed concordances of the LXX (without Hebrew equivalents) have been prepared on the basis of Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, with the aid of computers in Irvine, CA (*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*) and Edinburgh (both unpublished) as well as a series of Hebrew and Greek concordances published by the Biblical Research Associates of Wooster, Ohio. For a sample from this series, see R.A. Martin, *Syntactical and Critical Concordance to the Greek Text of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah*, *The Computer Bible*, XII (Wooster, OH, 1977).

There exist a relatively large number of printed bilingual concordances and other tools that can be used as partial concordances, all of which list Greek–Hebrew equivalents. Foremost among these is E. Hatch–H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the*

*Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, I–III (Oxford, 1892–1906; repr. Graz, 1954; 2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI, 1998), abbreviated as HR. The second edition includes an “Introductory Essay” by R.A. Kraft and E. Tov.

Because of its importance for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX, the nature and scope of HR are described here in detail. This tool covers nearly all words contained in the LXX, with the exception of words and particles that occur frequently, such as καί, οὐκ, δέ, which are listed as “*passim*”. For nearly all other Greek words, the MT equivalents as well as the scriptural references are provided, while for some words only scriptural references are listed (see below). The equivalences are denoted in the following way: the head of each entry lists all identifiable Hebrew words, which are translated in the LXX by the entry-word, indicated by separate numbers. In the entry itself, next to each occurrence of the entry-word appears the number of its equivalent Hebrew word. HR records in this way both single words and combinations of two or more Greek words which represent one Hebrew word. Thus HR provides such helpful equivalences as σήμερον = כיום, היום, etc.; ἡ σήμερον ἡμέρα = היום הזה, היום; ὡς σήμερον = כיום, etc.; ποιεῖν εὐφραίνόμενον = שמח; ὀλιγόψυχος = קצר רוח.

The data listed in HR were culled from manuscripts A, B and S of the LXX and from the Sixtine edition (1587), while the Hexaplaric data derived from several additional sources. HR also lists words from the Apocrypha (without Hebrew equivalents). The *Supplement* contains a Hebrew–Greek reverse index (which cites the column numbers in the main section, not the equivalents themselves), a Greek–Hebrew concordance of Sirach, and a separate list of Greek proper names with their Hebrew–Aramaic equivalents. Most transliterated common nouns are listed in volumes I–II, some in the *Supplement*, and others in both sections (*sic!*).

When the editors considered the Greek–Hebrew equivalence problematical, the Greek word was denoted “†”. Words having no formal counterpart in MT are denoted “(-)”. Various equivalences are denoted as problematical “(?)”.

The student of the LXX must realize that the equivalents listed by HR do not reflect the *presumed* equivalents of the LXX and its Hebrew *Vorlage*, but rather the *extant* (*formal*) equivalents of the LXX and MT that differ, often considerably, from the Hebrew text from which the translation was made. This system, which the editors preferred to a notation of the presumed equivalents, created many notations that could mislead the uninitiated reader. Thus ἀσθενέω in Mal 3:11 is listed as an equivalent of שכל (MT תשכל), while its presumed equivalent is כשל (thus *passim* in the

LXX). σαλεύω in 2 Kgs 17:20 is recorded as reflecting ענה (MT), while its presumed equivalent is נרע (thus *passim* in the LXX). For both examples, see pp. 66–67 above.

A concordance of this kind should list either presumed or formal equivalents, but not a mixture of the two, because the mixture can be misleading. Unfortunately, such a mixture is often the case in HR, for while it aims at the formal equivalents of the LXX and MT, it often has presumed equivalents in mind. Probably Hatch and Redpath, when digesting the data they had collected, realized that the listing of some formal equivalents could be misleading, so that these were frequently denoted “†” or “?”, and the presumed equivalents themselves were only listed in a few instances. Their own doubts on the matter are reflected in the Preface, p. VI:

There are many passages in which the Massoretic text differs from that which is implied in the Septuagint Version, and there are others in which that version is rather a paraphrase than an exact translation. There are consequently many passages in which opinions may properly differ as to the identification of the Greek and the Hebrew: it must be understood in regard to such cases that the aim of the present work, from which philological discussions are necessarily excluded, is rather to give a tenable view than to pronounce a final judgment.

It is not clear, however, what is meant by a “tenable view”.

Many equivalents that can be described well on a formal level are nevertheless denoted †, because the editors suspected that the presumed equivalent differed from the formal equivalent. For example, συνετέλεσεν in Deut 31:1 (cf. p. 67) is denoted “†”, even though its formal equivalent could have been denoted easily as הלך. δοῦλοι in 1 Sam 13:3 clearly reflects עבדים instead of עבדים of MT (see p. 64), but nevertheless it is denoted “†”. Likewise, καταδουλόω in Gen 47:21 reflects העביר, as elsewhere in the LXX, but it is indicated as “†” because MT reads העביר. αἰνεῖν in Jer 31(38):5 represents הלל, as elsewhere in the LXX, but is indicated as “†” because MT reads חלל. The employment of this sign is not only misleading; it also reduces the usefulness of the concordance.

The reader will note that the notation of equivalents in the *Supplement* to HR, which lists the proper names of the LXX, differs from that in vols. I–II, probably because the editors thought that the presumed equivalents of proper names could be determined more easily than those of common nouns. In some cases equivalents in proper names are described as “aliter in Heb.”, while in others the presumed equivalents themselves are indicated: thus Ἑβραῖοι in 1 Sam 17:8 (see p. 64) is listed as an equivalent of עבדים of

MT and not of עבירים. Σύρος often represents ארם where MT reads אד(ו)ם (see p. 98 above), as indicated on p. 148 of the *Supplement*.

As with the sign “†”, many question marks are superfluous when the formal equivalent can be indicated easily. For example:

1 Kgs 6:7	MT	אבן שלמה מסע נבנה
		was built with stone finished at the quarry ( <i>NRSV</i> )
	LXX	λίθοις ἀκροτόμοις ἀργοῖς ὠκοδομήθη
		was built with rough, unworked stones ( <i>NETS</i> )

In this phrase, the first, second, and fourth Greek words are equated in HR with the equivalents of MT. The third word, however, is listed as ἀργός—מסע(?).

Isa 23:17(16)	MT	ושבה לאתננה(ו)
		and she will return to her trade ( <i>NRSV</i> )
	LXX	(καὶ πάλιν) ἀποκατασταθήσεται εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον
		and she will be restored again to her ancient condition ( <i>NETS</i> )

The first Greek word is equated with the equivalent of MT, but the second is listed as ἀρχαῖος—אתנן(?).

1 Sam 20:30	MT	בחר אתה לבן ישי
		you have chosen the son of Jesse ( <i>NRSV</i> )
	LXX	μέτοχος εἶ σὺ τῷ υἱῷ Ἰεσσαί
		you are an accomplice of the son of Jesse

μέτοχος (sharing in, partner), the formal equivalent of בחר (choose), reflects here חבֵר, as in five other places in the LXX. HR therefore decided to add a question mark to the formal equivalence: μέτοχος εἶναι—בחר(?).

Likewise, HR often deviates from its system of listing equivalents in the description of words that are transposed in the translation. In accordance with the overall layout, HR often records the inverted words in the inverted order. For example, the inverted translation of Deut 33:8 תמִיךָ וְאֹרִיךְ—δήλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ is recorded as δήλος—תם and ἀλήθεια—אור (for a discussion of these renderings, see A. Toeg, *VT* 19 [1969], p. 496). Similarly, the Greek text of Deut 11:1 ומשפטי ומצותיו—καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ is recorded as ἐντολή—משפט and

κρίσις—מצוה (?). However, as a rule the editors inverted the notation of the Greek words, and thus recorded them as if they reflected a Hebrew text different from MT. Thus for Gen 30:43 וּשְׁפָחוֹת וְעִבְדִּים—καὶ παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι, the following equivalents are listed: עֶבֶד—παῖς; παιδίσκη—שִׁפְחָה. See further chapter 5.A.3.

Since HR remains the main printed concordance used today for locating equivalents, it seems advisable to draw attention to some further limitations of the work:<sup>32</sup>

(i) When using the concordance in the regular way, one does not have access to all the data that may be relevant for solving a certain textual problem because HR is arranged alphabetically rather than according to Greek word-groups. Neither the *composita* nor the related nouns or verbs can be consulted easily, for HR does not indicate which of these actually occur in the LXX. Such data must nevertheless be utilized, since they are sometimes significant for the identification of a certain equivalent. This may be exemplified by the equivalence הָרָאֵלֹנִי—καταμείναμεν in Josh 7:7, which should be compared with the equivalence of μένω, περιμένω, ὑπομένω and προσμένω with יָחַל, הִוָּחֵל, חָלַל elsewhere in the LXX.

The need for constant consultation of such related equivalences was stressed by M.L. Margolis in two studies in which he described his plan for a new type of concordance, “Entwurf zu einer revidierten Ausgabe der hebräisch-aramäischen Äquivalente in der Oxforder Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament”, ZAW 25 (1905), pp. 311–319; “καίειν (einschliesslich der Komposita und Derivata) und seine hebräisch-aramäischen Äquivalente im Gräzismus des Alten Testaments”, ZAW 26 (1906), pp. 85–90.

The relevant material to which Margolis referred is now accessible through a tool which should be used together with HR: X. Jacques, *List of Septuagint Words Sharing Common Elements*, Subsidia Biblica 1 (Rome, 1972), published simultaneously in a French edition, *Index des mots apparentés dans la Septante*. This book lists together all the words occurring in the LXX that belong to one word-group, such as s.v. κληρος: ἀκληρεῖν, ἀποκληροῦν, ἔγκληρος, ἐπικληροῦν, εὐκληρος, κατακληροδοτεῖν, κατακληρονομεῖν, κατακληροῦσθαι, κληροδοσία, κληροδοτεῖν, κληρονομεῖν, κληρονομία, κληρονόμος, κληρος, κληροῦν, κληρουργία, κληρουχεῖν, κληρουχία,

32. Some aspects of HR's system of notation were criticized by R. Smend in the preface to his *Griechisch-syrisch-hebräischer Index zur Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1907).

κληρωτί, ὁλοκληρία, ὁλόκληρος, συγκατακληρονομεῖν, συγκληρονομεῖν. This index also indicates in which part(s) of the LXX the entry-word occurs: Torah, historical books, poetic and sapiential books, prophetic books.

(ii) The Hebrew–Greek reverse index refers only to the numbers of the columns in the main index and not to the equivalents themselves. These are now provided in T. Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain, 2010), together with statistics; E. Camilo dos Santos, *An Expanded Hebrew Index for the Hatch–Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint* (Jerusalem, [1973]); and in the incomplete Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς γλώσσης τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης, I–II (Athens, 1968–).

(iii) HR is not complete, since it lists only readings from manuscripts A, B, S and the Sixtine edition. The following two groups of readings are thus absent:

- (a) Readings contained in other manuscripts. This lack is felt especially when such readings have been accepted in critical editions, as for instance ἐξανάστασις, Gen 7:4, included in the Göttingen Septuagint (J.W. Wevers on the basis of many minuscule manuscripts). HR lists for this verse only ἀνάστημα, which Wevers relegates to the apparatus; it comes from manuscripts AM and some other sources (the same reading is also preserved for οἱ λ')—manuscripts B and S are not preserved in this section. The absence of readings contained in minuscules is particularly regrettable with regard to important minuscules such as the Lucianic group (bo(r)c<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>) in the historical books and in Esther (in the latter: “Lucian”).
- (b) Emendations, e.g., ἐπίχειρα in Jer 49:10 (29:11) emended from διὰ χεῖρα (found in all manuscripts) on the basis of the occurrence of this word in Jer 27:5 (34:4) and 48(31):25 (thus J. Ziegler in the Göttingen Septuagint). In all three places it represents עֲרֵץ. Cf. also p. 60 above.

(iv) Many words of the LXX are listed without their Hebrew equivalents. The failure to provide the Hebrew equivalents of conjunctions (e.g., εἰ, ὅτι), prepositions (e.g., ἐν, ἐναντίον), numerals (e.g., δύο, δέκα) and pronouns (e.g., ἐμός, σός) is not conducive to precise textual work. Likewise, the reverse index does mention the Hebrew words when they happen to occur in combinations listed elsewhere in the concordance. Accordingly, the reverse index often provides incomplete information (e.g., s.v. כִּי, לִפְנֵי, אַחֲרֵי, אִם).

(v) The concordance lists no Hebrew equivalents for words occurring in Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and other Hexaplaric sources, thereby

not taking into consideration the special nature of the canon of the LXX. For it has been shown in modern research, especially after Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, that large sections of the “LXX” must be ascribed to Aquila and *kaige*-Th (see chapter 1.D), enabling the identification of many Greek–Hebrew equivalents of the “LXX” on the basis of the vocabulary of Aquila and *kaige*-Th elsewhere in Scripture. The same applies to the Lucianic tradition in the historical books, included in MSS borc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>, which, according to some scholars, reflects the Old Greek translation of these books, in either a pure or a revised form (see chapter 5, n. 11).

Consultation of the equivalents of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus is profitable not only because of the special nature of the canon of the LXX, but also because it occasionally helps in the identification of Hebrew equivalents of LXX words. For instance, καὶ διέστρωσαν τῷ Σαουλ (and they spread a bed for Saul) in 1 Sam 9:25 is usually retroverted as וִירְכְדוּ לְשָׂאוֹל as against MT in vv. 25–26: . . . וַיִּשְׁכְּמוּ<sup>26</sup> (and he spoke with Saul). No other word from the root רכד is rendered in the LXX by a derivative of στρῶν-, but the equivalence רכד—περιστρώννυμι in Aquila and Theodotion in Prov 7:16 supports the retroversion. For further examples, see Margolis, “Complete Induction”, p. 306.

The equivalents of Aquila can be consulted in J. Reider–N. Turner, *An Index to Aquila*, VTSup 12 (Leiden, 1966). The Hebrew equivalents of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion are included in the concordance of Trommius and in Schleusner’s *Thesaurus*, to be mentioned below. Furthermore, the indexes of the following works are helpful: L. Lütke­mann–A. Rahlfs, *Hexaplarische Randnoten zu Isaias 1–16*, MSU I, 6 (Berlin, 1915); A. Schenker, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke* (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1975); id., *Psalmen in den Hexapla*, Studi e Testi 295 (Vatican, 1982); J. Ramon Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos*, Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 22 (Madrid, 1978); J.A. Martin, *A Critical Analysis of the Fourth Column of Origen’s Hexapla in 4 Reigns (2 Kings)*, PhD diss., Dallas Theological Seminary (Dallas, 1980).

(vi) As expected in a work of the scope of HR, many equations are erroneous or doubtful. A few examples may be mentioned:

Gen 4:21	MT	אֲבִי כָל תַּפֵּשׁ (כְּנֹר וְעֹגֶב)
		the father of all those who hold (the lyre and pipe)
	LXX	ὁ καταδείξας
		he who introduced (the harp and lyre)

HR incorrectly listed the equivalent of καταδεικνύναι as only תפש rather than אבי כל תפש (the Greek translation condensed the three words into one).

Gen 49:24	MT	משם רעה אבן ישראל ... from there is the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel
	LXX	ἐκεῖθεν ὁ κατισχύσας Ἰσραηλ from there is He that strengthened Israel

HR records κατισχύειν as the equivalent of אבן even though from a formal point of view the Greek verb reflects both רעה and אבן.

ἄθωπουν (to hold guiltless) in Jer 15:15 is recorded as reflecting נקה (as elsewhere in the LXX), although MT reads הנקם (take vengeance).

See further the corrections to HR by J. Göttsburger, “Berichtigung zur LXX Konkordanz von Hatch-Redpath”, *BZ* 3 (1905), p. 39; id., “Zu εἰρήνη bei Hatch-Redpath”, *BZ* 4 (1906), p. 246.

(vii) In the main index, many Greek words are denoted as “†” (perplexing difficulty). As mentioned above, all these instances must be examined separately. The frequent use of this sign makes the reverse index impractical because it does not list equivalences denoted “†” in the main index. For example, in the reverse index, the equivalence of צור and κτίστης (2 Sam 22:32) is not mentioned.

For detailed text-critical work, the following concordances, arranged chronologically, are also of partial help since they supplement HR in several aspects:

(i) A. Trommius, *Concordantiae graecae versionis vulgo dictae LXX interpretum*, I–II (Amsterdam/Utrecht, 1718). Ever since the publication of HR, little use has been made of this earlier concordance, which, albeit antiquated, less complete and less critical than HR, often contains helpful information not found in HR. For instance, it lists Greek entries absent from the latter such as πλησιοχώραι found in MS 87 of Theodotion in Dan 11:24; προσεκχέω, printed in the editio Aldina (1518–19) in Exod 29:16; συναλάγμα, printed in the editio Aldina in Job 39:25. Trommius does not use a sign like “†”, so that in principle, all equivalents for the entry-words in the concordance are recorded. Its reverse index lists the actual Hebrew–Greek equivalents rather than merely the numbers of the columns as in HR. This applies also to the equivalents of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Like HR, Trommius composed several entries

by combining certain Greek or Hebrew words, while some of these combinations are not found in HR. Finally, and most importantly, Trommius refers to some presumed equivalents, which are added in parentheses after the formal equivalents (see, e.g., s.v. δοῦλος, κάλλος, καταδολεσχέω, καταδουλόω).

(ii) J. Williams, *A Concordance to the Greek Testament, with the English Version to Each Word; The Principal Hebrew Roots Corresponding to the Greek Words of the Septuagint, Short Critical Notes and an Index* (London, 1767).

(iii) J.F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus, sive lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes graecos ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, 1820–21; Glasgow, 1822; London, 1829). Schleusner's important work is usually described by scholars as a lexicon, but it is, in fact, more in the nature of an annotated list of Greek–Hebrew equivalents.<sup>33</sup> This lexicon cannot serve as a full concordance because it gives only a limited number of references in each entry. Its great merit is the listing and analysis of all Hebrew equivalents of the Greek entry-word, both for the LXX and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. In this analysis, Schleusner refers to both the formal and presumed equivalents between the LXX and MT. Since Schleusner's analysis includes all words denoted in HR as “†” (see, e.g., s.v. αἰών, καταδουλόω, ὀρύσσω), it may be used profitably alongside HR. The Glasgow and London editions (1822, 1829) contain a useful Hebrew–Greek reverse index.

(iv) R. Smend, *Griechisch-syrisch-hebräischer Index zur Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1907), is more complete than its counterpart in HR (vol. III, pp. 163–196).

(v) N. Simotas, Αἱ ἀμετάφραστοι λέξεις ἐν τῷ κειμένῳ τῶν Ξ' (Saloniki, 1969) lists and analyzes the transliterated proper names and common nouns found in the LXX. The data included in this work were culled from HR, and are therefore incomplete.

(vi) Tov, *Baruch*, pp. 37–51 contains a concordance of Bar. 1:1–3:8 based on his reconstruction of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX. According to Tov, *Jeremiah*, the first part of Baruch was translated by the same translator as Jeremiah, and then revised by the same reviser who reworked

33. For an analysis of this lexicon, see R. Hanhart, “Jüdische Tradition und christliche Interpretation: zur Geschichte der Septuagintaforschung in Göttingen” in: A.M. Ritter (ed.), *Kerygma und Logos, Festschrift Carl Andresen* (Göttingen, 1979), pp. 280–297; J. Lust, “J.F. Schleusner and the Lexicon of the Septuagint”, *ZAW* 102 (1990), pp. 256–262.

at least the second part of Jeremiah. Consequently, evidence from Baruch may be as important for solving text-critical problems in the LXX as evidence from the LXX of Jeremiah.

(vii) J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch, Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976) contains an 'Aramaic-Greek-Ethiopic glossary', which is useful also for LXX research. See, however, the critical review by J. Barr in *JThSt* 29 (1978), pp. 517–530 and further id., "Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch (I)", *JSS* 23 (1978), pp. 184–198.

(viii) T. Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Index to I Esdras*, SBLSCS 16 (Chico, CA, 1984).

(ix) H. Hübner, *Wörterbuch zur Sapientia Salomonis mit dem Text der Göttinger Septuaginta* (Göttingen, 1985).

(x) J.R. Abercrombie, W. Adler, R.A. Kraft, and E. Tov, *Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies (CATSS), Volume 1, Ruth*, SBLSCS 20 (Atlanta, GA, 1986).

(xi) R.A. Martin and S. Scorza, *Syntactical Concordance to the Correlated Greek and Hebrew Texts of Ruth: The Septuagint Series*, *The Computer Bible* 30 (Wooster, 1988, 1989).

(xii) J. Jarick, *A Comprehensive Bilingual Concordance of the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Book of Ecclesiastes*, CATSS—Basic Tools Volume 3; SBLSCS 36 (Atlanta, GA, 1993).

## EXCURSUS 2

### THE USE OF ELECTRONIC TOOLS IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE *VORLAGE* OF THE LXX

At the time of the first and second editions of this handbook (1981, 1997), printed concordances were the main tools in the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX, while at the present time electronic tools play an ever-growing role in this procedure.

The purpose of using electronic tools in the reconstruction procedure is identical to that of using printed concordances: namely, to identify Hebrew–Greek equivalences of MT–LXX that may aid in establishing other equivalents in problematic instances. Ideally one would wish to compare MT with all extant Greek readings, but in practice HR provides only the readings of the manuscripts A, B, S, and the editio Sixtina, while the most adequate bilingual electronic tool at the present time, CATSS, provides only the text of Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, without variants. For practical purposes, however, this tool suffices, since the reconstructed original text of the LXX is usually more relevant for the purpose of reconstructing the Hebrew *Vorlage* than the readings of the individual manuscripts.

The CATSS tool allows for bilingual searches of Hebrew–Greek equivalences of MT–LXX of:

- a. All the words and their separate components (e.g., bound particles and prepositions), in either the Hebrew or Greek text;
- b. all the grammatical categories of the Hebrew or Greek language;
- c. predetermined textual features, such as short or long pluses and minuses and transpositions of the LXX.

Advantages of CATSS over the printed concordances:

- a. Computerized searches are more comprehensive than those of printed concordances, since they include all the elements that are not included in HR (mentioned on p. 105).

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- b. Searches can be carried out in chosen text units, such as the Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, or just Jeremiah 1–29, thus improving the precision of the reconstruction since each translation unit used a different vocabulary.
  - c. Inclusion in col. b of the reconstruction into Hebrew–Aramaic of elements in the LXX deviating from MT. This reconstruction is fully subjective.
  - d. Inclusion of remarks on translation technique and such textual features as doublets, interchanges of similar letters between MT and the reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX.
  - e. Use of all the features of the base programs, such as wildcards, “within ? words”, “followed by . . .”, etc. *Accordance* also offers sophisticated statistics.

For further details see my description: “A Computerized Data Base for Septuagint Research”, in: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 31–51.

### EXCURSUS 3

#### TENDENTIOUS PALAEOGRAPHICAL EXEGESIS?

All translations are based not only on linguistic and contextual exegesis, but also on palaeographical exegesis. That is to say, the translators had to make palaeographical decisions with regard to graphically similar letters and other difficulties in the manuscripts from which the translation was made (see especially the discussion in chapter 5.D). When making such palaeographical decisions, the translators were guided by their linguistic and contextual understanding. Consciously or unconsciously, they were influenced by their analysis, content exegesis, and linguistic understanding. According to some scholars, they were also influenced by what might be called “tendentious palaeographical exegesis”. This procedure implies the maneuverings of the translators who would at times be inclined to *read* a certain reading *into* their text due to exegetical motivations. This view is open to doubt, so that the examples which follow merely illustrate the difficulties involved.

Ps 9:6	MT	אַבְדָּתָּ רָשָׁע
		you <i>destroyed</i> the wicked
	LXX	καὶ ἀπώλετο ὁ ἀσεβής
		and the wicked man <i>perished</i>

It has been suggested that the translator of Psalms evaded the idea that God himself destroyed the wicked, and that he therefore changed the original text by reading the letters differently from MT (אַבְדָּתָּ רָשָׁע). However, if this were true, he would have been inconsistent for elsewhere in the LXX of Psalms God is pictured as personally destroying the wicked (Ps 5:6–7; 143(142):12). It is therefore more likely that the difference between MT and the LXX is based not on the translator’s tendentious change, but on variants that underlie the translation (אַבְדָּתָּ רָשָׁע).

Num 16:15	MT	לא חמור אחד מהם נשאתי I have not taken one <i>ass</i> from them
	LXX	οὐκ ἐπιθύμημα οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν εἴληφα I have not taken the <i>desire</i> of any one of them
	=	לא חמור אחד מהם נשאתי

*Daleth* and *resh* interchange frequently in Hebrew manuscripts (see Gen 49:14; Isa 27:2 for the interchange **חמור/חמד**), so that the translation may be based on such an interchange (in which case the reading of MT is preferable [cf. 1 Sam 12:3]). On the other hand, it is not impossible that the *translator* considered the implication of MT inappropriate and deliberately avoided it.<sup>34</sup> For the retroversion of ἐπιθύμημα as **חמור**, cf. 11QT<sup>a</sup> LVII 20–21 וכול חמור בישראל . . . ולוא יחמור . . . . At the same time, **חָמַד** is also possible.

Hos 10:12	MT	נירו לכם ניר ועת (לדרוש את ה') till <i>the untilled ground, and it is time</i> (to seek the LORD)
	LXX	φωτίσατε ἑαυτοῖς φῶς γνῶσεως light for yourselves the <i>light of knowledge</i>

Elsewhere in the LXX, φῶς represents **נר** (Prov 13:9; 20:27) and γνῶσις represents **דעה/דעת** (*passim*). Therefore φῶς γνῶσεως could represent **ניר דעת** instead of **ניר ועת** of MT. Since the Greek phrase used here represents gnostic terminology outside the biblical realm, it may also reflect such terminology within the LXX. However, in our view this assumption is unlikely. If a translator had wished to use gnostic terminology, he would have done so elsewhere, too, regardless of the precise form and content of the Hebrew text. Hence, in this case where the presumed *Vorlage* of φῶς γνῶσεως is close to MT, it is more reasonable to assume a non-tendentious variant reading than the reflection of a gnostic tendency.

34. This rendering constitutes one of the instances (18, 13, or 20) in the Bible that, according to Talmudic sources, have been altered by the Greek translators. See *b. Meg.* 9a; *j. Meg.* 1, 1, 4 (72a); *Mekhilta* on Exod 12:40 and parallels. For an analysis of the background and nature of these “alterations”, see G. Veltri, *Eine Tora für den König Talmi: Untersuchungen zum Übersetzungsverständnis in der jüdisch-hellenistischen und rabbinischen Literatur*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 41 (Tübingen, 1994); E. Tov, “The Evaluation of the Greek Scripture Translations in Rabbinic Sources”, in: id., *HB, GB, and Qumran*, pp. 365–377.

Likewise, in the following three instances *no* intentional gnostic terminology should be posited:

Isa 11:2	MT	רוח דעת
		the spirit of knowledge
	LXX	πνεῦμα γνώσεως

The two Greek words are stereotyped equivalents of their Hebrew counterparts, which occur also elsewhere in the LXX.

Isa 53:11	MT	מעמל נפשו יראה
		He shall see the fruit of the travail of his soul (RSV)
	LXX	ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς ... from the travail of his soul, to show him <i>light</i>

The LXX reflects a Hebrew variant (אור) which is also found in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. This added אור may reflect a gnostic tendency, but in that case the presumed tendency would reflect only the intention of the *Vorlage* of the translation, and not that of the translation. For a different view, see I.L. Seeligmann, “Δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς”, *Tarbiz* 27 (1958), pp. 127–141 (Heb.), also presented in id., *Isaiah 2004*.

Jer 10:13; 51:16	MT	ויוצא רוח מאצרתיו
		and he brought forth the <i>wind</i> from his storehouses
	LXX	καὶ ἐξήγαγεν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ and he brought forth <i>light</i> from his storehouses

Also here φῶς probably reflects a Hebrew reading that differs from MT (רוח), viz. אור; cf. Ziegler, *Beiträge*, p. 42.

Finally, an example of a different nature.

Gen 3:17	MT	ארורה האדמה בעבורך
		cursed is the ground <i>because of you</i>
	LXX	ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου cursed is the ground <i>in your labours</i> (similar to Sym and V)

Gen 8:21	MT	לא אסף לקלל עוד את האדמה <u>בעבור</u> האדם I will not curse the ground any more <i>because of</i> man
	LXX	οὐ προσθήσω ἔτι τοῦ καταράσασθαι τὴν γῆν διὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων I will not curse the ground any more <i>because of</i> <i>the works of men</i>

According to G. Bertram, *ThDNT* II, pp. 643–644 (s.v. ἔργον), “the negative attitude of Hellen. Judaism to work decisively affects the text”. However, it is more likely that the root עבד underlying the translation developed in a Hebrew manuscript or in the translator’s mind because of the context in both verses, where the tilling of the ground is implied (Gen 3:17) or suggested itself to the translator (8:21). For a similar rendering, see Jer 14:4 האדמה בעבור—καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς γῆς.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ELEMENTS NOT INDICATED IN THE *VORLAGE* OF THE TRANSLATORS

The previous chapter dealt with the reconstruction of the consonantal skeleton of the *Vorlage* of the translators. This analysis is continued here, but attention is now focused on those elements in Hebrew manuscripts, especially vocalization, that were not indicated in the sources used by the translators, but were necessarily reflected in the translation.

We first clarify the terminology used in our analysis. As a rule, the retroversions analyzed in the previous chapter refer to elements actually found in the translators' *Vorlage*, and hence relate to differences in letters and to completely different words, to additions, omissions, and transpositions. At first, the translators had to make decisions regarding the linguistic and semantic identification of all the words in the text—these decisions have been analyzed in the previous chapters (see especially chapter 2.A). Beyond these decisions, translators also had to express a view with regard to elements not explicitly indicated in their *Vorlage*, viz., the reading of the letters, the division between words and sentences, as well as divisions within the sentence. In the case of the reading of the letters, the translators' decision was sometimes facilitated by the occurrence of *matres lectionis* in the Hebrew scrolls, but more frequently translators found no help in the Hebrew text. It is, however, reasonable to assume that at the time of the translation, the public reading of the consonantal text of major Scripture segments was a common practice and may therefore be considered part of the transmission of the text to which translators could have had recourse.

Accordingly, the reconstruction of reading (vocalization) and the division of words may, with due caution, be treated as elements of the transmission of the Hebrew text, even though they were not explicitly indicated in the manuscripts. As a result, critical editions of the Hebrew Bible such as the *BH* series and the *HUB* indicate differences in vocalization and in

the division of words and sentences in their apparatuses. Data on deviating vocalizations reflected in the LXX have been collected by many scholars, *i.a.*, Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 216–234; Schuurmans Stekhoven, *Dodekapropheton*, pp. 97, 123; Perles, *Analekten*, pp. 61–67; *id.*, *Analekten*, II, pp. 56–69; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, 60–80; Wutz, *Systematische Wege*, pp. 36–67; *id.*, “Abweichende Vokalisationsüberlieferung im hebräischen Text”, *BZ* 21 (1933), pp. 9–21; Jansma, *Zechariah*, pp. 67ff.; Prijs, *Tradition*, pp. 52–53; P. Wernberg-Møller, “Studies in the Defective Spellings in the Isaiah-Scroll of St. Mark’s Monastery”, *JSS* 3 (1958), pp. 254ff.; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 216–234.

### A. Vocalization

#### 1. Reconstructing “different vocalizations”

When the reconstructed consonantal text of the translators *differs* from MT, the reconstruction of its vocalization follows that of the consonants. The two procedures are similar.

The discussion here focuses on assumed differences in vocalization between MT and the *Vorlage* of the LXX, when their consonantal text was *identical*, with the possible exclusion of *matres lectionis* (see chapter 5.A excursus 1). In such cases, the process of reconstructing the vocalization resembles that of reconstructing the consonantal text, and is, in fact, a part of that process. One compares individual words in the LXX with their counterparts in MT, while isolating elements which reflect MT, both consonants and their vocalization.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the latter, one often isolates words whose vocalization presumably differed from that of MT, and at the same time attempts to indicate the main features of this vocalization.

Reconstructed vocalizations that differ from MT are referred to as “different vocalizations”. This term, and, indeed, the entire process, presupposes that the translators read their text in a certain way. For the sake of clarity we use the term “vocalization” anachronistically, but we refer to the reading of the translators. As indicated below, this term is used in a general sense, for often the translators were not aware of the precise reading of the vowels in the words they were rendering.

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1. When dealing with minute details such as vowels, one specific form of MT is used as the basis for the collation of these differences. Thus codex Leningrad B 19<sup>A</sup> is used by the *BH* series and the Aleppo codex is found at the basis of the *HUB*.

## 2. The translators' attitude towards the unvocalized text

When the LXX was translated, unvocalized Hebrew texts were read publicly, so that some form of reading of the consonantal text must have been known. Specific traditions are reflected in later sources, e.g., the Hexapla's second column (the Hebrew text of the Bible transliterated in Greek characters), the transliterations in Jerome's biblical commentaries as well as in *matres lectionis* in Qumran manuscripts which marked the reading of the consonantal text (see, e.g., the abundant use of such markers in a substantial group of Qumran texts, such as in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>). See Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 100–105.

The translators' decisions with regard to the reading of the consonants must have been similar to those of the persons who read the Bible aloud, with one significant difference. The latter had to commit themselves with regard to the reading of all words, which the translators did not have to do. In fact, the degree to which the translators were aware of the vocalization of individual words is debatable. They certainly were not acquainted with all the details of vocalization, but, apart from some significant exceptions to be discussed below, they probably recognized its main features. A different view is propounded in an article by J. Barr, who doubts the translators' awareness of the process. According to Barr, many words (not all words; see Barr's clarifications in Fraenkel, *Studien zur Septuaginta*, pp. 19–34) were not fully vocalized by the translators, but rather:

The translator might conclude from the written form of the Hebrew straight to the variety of meanings which this might have in Greek (or Latin, Syriac or other language). From the variety of such possible meanings, the context would decide which should be chosen. The process works from the written form in Hebrew to the semantic content conceivable for this form, selected by the context and expressed in the receptor language. *The full vocalization of the form is not a necessary stage in the process.* ("Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators", VTSup 16 [1967], p. 1).

Cf. also id., "Reading a Script without Vowels", in: W. Haas (ed.), *Writing without Letters* (Manchester, 1976), pp. 71–100; Barr returned to this issue in his "'Guessing' in the Septuagint", in: Fraenkel, *Studien zur Septuaginta*, pp. 19–34 reacting to my analysis in the first edition of the present monograph (1981).

Since Barr's studies contribute significantly to the discussion, it is worth dwelling here upon his main conclusion. His suggestion is doubtless correct for the rendering of many words, but certainly not for the translation

of most—or all—words into Greek. However, because of lack of evidence, little absolute proof can be adduced in favor of any particular approach.

In our analysis of the procedure of vocalizing, three sequential stages may be distinguished in the translators' thinking, to be illustrated by a given homographic word מלכו. When encountering מלכו in his Hebrew text, a translator would at first identify the word semantically, i.e., as something connected with "king".

Next, he would determine the precise form of the word on the basis of the context, that is מלכו if "they ruled" fits the context or מלכו if "his king" fits better. On the basis of these identifications, he would then write either βασιλεύοντο or ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ, or the like. If one accepts Barr's description, there is no need to reckon with this second stage, for according to him, the translators proceeded from the semantic identification straight to the full translation. It must, however, be asked whether in this case the distinction between the two alternative understandings of מלכו is at all possible without some form of vocalization. In other words, could the translator decide upon the meaning of מלכו without accounting for the reading of the *waw*? On the other hand, no form of vocalization need be posited if for each homographic word one assumes two or more different abstract forms, between which the translator distinguished without referring to their vocalization. For example, he might be able to distinguish between an abstract unit מלכו<sup>1</sup> signifying "his king" (מלכו) and a unit מלכו<sup>2</sup> signifying "they ruled" (מלכו), and similarly he might be able to distinguish between a unit דבר<sup>1</sup> equaling דבר, <sup>2</sup>דבר equaling דבר, <sup>3</sup>דבר equaling דבר, <sup>4</sup>דבר equaling דבר, etc.

However, such complicated assumptions are probably unnecessary. After all, personal names were transliterated in the LXX, and at the time of the translation parts of the Bible were read aloud, and subsequently sections of the Bible were transliterated as a whole—all of which necessitate an awareness of vocalization. Therefore one need not assume that the translators proceeded directly from the semantic identification to the translation. Another reason that some form of vocalization of most words seems likely is that there is considerable agreement between the LXX and MT in the understanding of the letters, which amounts to agreement in vocalization. This agreement can hardly be coincidental, and it probably reflects a common reading tradition.

It may therefore be assumed that, as a rule, translators were aware of the essential phenomena of the vocalization, except for one situation where Barr's description must be accepted. It is probably correct to assume that

translators often merely guessed at the meaning of the letters and did not think of any particular vocalization. In these cases the translators indeed proceeded from the semantic identification directly to the rendering, often disregarding such details as prefixes or suffixes.

It cannot be proven that a certain rendering reflects an element of conjecture,<sup>2</sup> but it is a reasonable assumption, for example with regard to renderings that were based on Aramaic rather than Hebrew.<sup>3</sup> Two examples follow:

Judg 5:30	MT	רַחֵם רַחֲמָתִים לְרֹאשׁ גִּבּוֹר <i>a woman, two women for the head of every man</i>
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	φιλιάζων φίλοις εἰς κεφαλὴν δυνατοῦ <i>showing friendship to friends with regard to the head of a mighty one (?)</i>

The translator (LXX<sup>A</sup>) derived רַחֵם רַחֲמָתִים from the *Aramaic* root רחם (to love) rather than its Hebrew counterpart (contrast LXX<sup>B</sup>: οἰκτεῖρμων οἰκτεیرهσει, based on the Hebrew root רחם, to show compassion). Probably the translator had no specific vocalization in mind, and he furthermore disregarded the suffix of the second word.

Jer 7:29	MT	וַיַּשְׁלֵךְ אֶת דּוֹר עֲבָרָתוֹ <i>and he abandoned the generation of his wrath</i>
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	καὶ ἀπόσατο τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ποιοῦσαν ταῦτα <i>and he rejected the generation that does these things</i>

עֲבָרָתוֹ, read as עבדתו, was derived from the *Aramaic* root עבד (to do)<sup>4</sup> and was understood as either a present or past form. Since no specific *Aramaic* form underlying τὴν ποιοῦσαν ταῦτα can be identified easily (not

2. The number of translational guesses is much larger than is generally thought. This topic was discussed by the present author in “Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?” in id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 203–218. One aspect is analyzed in the excursus appended to chapter 5.D. See also p. 130.

3. See chapter 3.A.4 and the excursus appended to chapter 5.D.

4. For similar interchanges, see Jer 48(31):30 עבדתו—ἐργα αὐτοῦ (cf. S: עבדיהו; T: עובדי רברביהו; Prov 22:8 עבדתו—ἐργων αὐτοῦ; Isa 28:21 עבדתו—ὁ δὲ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ (= עבדתו)). See further the analysis of Gen 3:17 and 8:21 on pp. 114–115.

(ה) עֲבָדָה as in *BHS*), it may be assumed that the translator provided a contextually plausible rendering of the word, without envisaging any particular verbal form and/or vocalization.

Likewise, in their etymological exegesis the translators often proceeded from the semantic identification directly to the translation (see the examples in the excursus at the end of chapter 5.D).

### 3. The reconstruction of the vocalization

Every reconstruction of the translators' vocalization is anachronistic, but it is nevertheless suggested, because it shows different ways of understanding the consonantal text.

Not only the procedure of reconstructing written vocalizations as a whole, but also the reconstruction of the details themselves is anachronistic. Modern reconstructions usually follow the rules of the Masoretic grammar, even though the reading that lies at the base of the LXX followed a different system or tradition.

The assumption that differences existed between the early reading traditions may be deduced from various sources, especially from the second column of the Hexapla. Such differences have been described by various scholars,<sup>5</sup> and they may be illustrated by the representation of the *segolata*: עֲבָדָה (לְ) is transliterated as (λ)αβδ in the second column of the Hexapla in Ps 36(35):1 and גָּבַר as γαβρ in Ps 89(88):49. In other instances, patterns of nouns and verbs, which were differentiated in Tiberian Hebrew sounded alike in earlier times. Thus the differences between the suffixes הָ, -, הָ, -, הָ, -, הָ, - were usually neutralized in their transliterated forms as -αχ. This applies also to the differences between the verbal forms קָטַלְתָּ and קָטַלְתָּ.<sup>6</sup>

The imprecision in the reconstruction of the vocalization does not undermine the validity of this procedure as a whole, as long as one recognizes that in the reconstruction of nominal and verbal forms underlying the translation some anachronistic patterns are employed. Therefore, the

5. Cf. especially E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus, auf Grundlage der Mercatischen Fragmente der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes* (Leipzig, 1943); Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language* (Madrid/Barcelona, 1954); Sperber, *Grammar*; Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*. See further the literature in Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, § 166; in *Classified Bibliography*, § 19, 37c; and especially in Grabbe, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 179–197 (“Survey of literature on the authenticity of Masoretic vocalization”).

6. For a detailed discussion, see Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Studies* (see n. 5 above), pp. 43ff., referring particularly to the earlier views of P. Kahle, subsequently summarized in *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1959), pp. 171–188.

Masoretic forms reconstructed for the *Vorlage* of the LXX can always be “translated” into non-Masoretic forms. For example, when in Jer 31(38):20 ἀνθ’ ὧν οἱ λόγοι μου is reconstructed as מדי דְּבָרֵי בו instead of MT מדי דְּבָרֵי בו, attention is drawn to the fact that the LXX reflects a noun instead of a verb in MT, but the vocalization could also be represented as דְּבָרֵי (cf. *dabarach* in Jerome’s commentary on MT דְּבָרֵיִךְ in Hos 13:14 [PL 25, 153]). When reconstructing the translators’ vocalization, the “content” of the vocalization is more significant than its exact form.

#### 4. The grapheme ש

The distinction between ש and ש belongs to the realm of vocalization. The problems involved with the reading of this grapheme are less complicated than those in other areas of vocalization, because there are only a few words that can be read with either ש or ש. For example:<sup>7</sup>

Gen 26:20	MT	עשֶׂק אֵ כִי הִתְעַשְׂקוּ עִמּוֹ
		... Esek אֵ for they contended with him ( <i>NJPS</i> )
	LXX	... ἀδικία. ἡδίκησαν γὰρ αὐτόν
	=	עשֶׂק אֵ כִי הִתְעַשְׂקוּ עִמּוֹ
		... injustice אֵ for they did him injustice

עשֶׂק (to contend) does not occur elsewhere in the Bible. Postbiblical Hebrew knows this word only with a *samekh* (עסק). The LXX reflects the root עשֶׂק (to oppress).

Judg 5:8	MT	אִזּוֹ לַחֵם שְׂעָרִים
		(then there was war in the) gates
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	(ὡς ἄρτον) κρίθινον = שְׂעָרִים
		(like) barley (bread)
Isa 19:10	MT	כָּל עֹשֵׂי שְׂכָר
		(all who work for) hire
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	τὸν ζῦθον = שְׂכָר
		intoxicating drink

שְׂכָר (MT) occurs elsewhere only in Prov 11:18, while the related שָׂכַר occurs more frequently in the Bible. שָׂכַר is probably also reflected by

7. See also Margolis, “Studien”, p. 249; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, § 82.

1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, as indicated by the consonants of its reading שותתיה (her drinkers; cf. Isa 24:9) instead of MT שְׁתִּיתָהּ (her foundations).<sup>8</sup>

In the following verses, שיחה/שוחה (pit) was apparently not known to the translators, who reflected the more common שיחה (conversation). Interestingly enough, in all three cases the verb is adapted to the “new” context.

Ps 119(118):85	MT	כרו לי זדים) שיחות (godless men dug) pits (for me)
	LXX	(διηγῆσαντό μοι παράνομοι) ἀδολεσχίας (transgressors told me) idle talks
	=	שיחות
Jer 18:20	MT	(כרו) שוחה (לנפשי) (they dug) a pit (for my life)
	LXX	(συνελάλησαν) ῥήματα (κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μου)
	=	שיחת (?) שיחה (they spoke) words (against my soul)
Jer 18:22	MT	(כרו) שיחה (שוחה: Q) (they dug) a pit
	LXX	(ἐνεχείρησαν) λόγον
	=	שיחה (they formed) a plan

For an additional example of the interchange ש/ש, see p. 189 (Judg 5:16).

##### 5. The translators and the reading tradition

As remarked above, to a certain extent vocalizations must have been based on exegetical traditions. At the same time, one sometimes senses the involvement of individual translators whose difficulties in establishing the meanings of words are often apparent.

Conjecture must have played an important part in the translator's attempt to understand his *Vorlage*, not only with regard to the consonants (cf. n. 2), but also with regard to vocalization. While on a formal level the

8. Thus S. Talmon, “DSIsa as a Witness to Ancient Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah”, *ASTI* 1 (1962), p. 66.

understanding of the consonants was seemingly stable, their reading was still open to speculation.

It is difficult to characterize a certain vocalization as conjectural. However, when the vocalization in the LXX reflects a more common word than a rare or unique vocalization indicated by MT, it may be that the translator had difficulty in establishing the meaning of MT. For instance:

Gen 15:11	MT	וַיֵּשֶׁב אִתָּם אַבְרָם and Abraham drove them away. Derived from נִשַּׁב.
	LXX	καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβραμ
	=	וַיֵּשֶׁב אִתָּם אַבְרָם and Abraham sat together with them. Derived from יָשַׁב.

נִשַּׁב *hiph'il* occurs elsewhere only in Ps 147:18. The translator, who may have experienced difficulties in rendering this form, reflects an understanding of the reading that is contextually very implausible.

Judg 5:11	MT	יִתְּנוּ צְדָקוֹת ה'
		they shall <i>rehearse</i> (?) the righteous acts of the LORD
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	δώσουσιν δικαιοσύνην (B: δικαιοσύνας) κυρίῳ
	=	יִתְּנוּ they shall <i>give</i> righteousness to the LORD

תָּנָה occurs elsewhere only in Judg 11:40.

אָנוּשׁ occurs only rarely in the Bible; in the following three cases its meaning was not recognized by the translators (contrast the rendering of this word in Jer 15:18, 30[37]:12).

Isa 17:11	MT	וְכָאֵב אָנוּשׁ and desperate pain
	LXX	καὶ ὡς πατὴρ ἀνθρώπου
	=	וְכָאֵב אָנוּשׁ and like a father of man

Jer 17:9	MT	עַקֵּב הַלֵּב מִכָּל וְאָנֹשׁ הוּא (the heart is deceitful above all things) and it is desperately weak
	LXX	καὶ ἀνθρωπός ἐστι
	=	וְאָנֹשׁ הוּא and it is human
Jer 17:16	MT	וְיוֹם אָנוּשׁ and the woeful day
	LXX	καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνθρώπου
	=	וְיוֹם אָנוּשׁ and the day of man

#### 6. The reliability of the reconstruction

When both the reconstructed letters and vowels *differ* from MT (see section 1 above), the reliability of the latter depends on the former. However, we are concerned here with reconstructed vocalizations when the letters of MT and those of the LXX's *Vorlage* were presumably *identical*. The reconstruction of the vowels is only as reliable as that of the letters (this reliability should not be confused with the priority of the vocalization). In some categories, however, the reconstruction may be considered more reliable:

*α. Identical Greek–Hebrew equivalents elsewhere.* When the content of the reconstructed vocalization differs significantly from that of MT, and when the reconstruction is supported by identical equivalents elsewhere in the LXX, as a rule, the reconstruction is reliable:

Isa 24:23	MT	הַלְּבָנָה . . . הַחֹמָה (= T S V) the moon . . . the sun
	LXX	ἡ πλίνθος . . . τὸ τεῖχος
	=	הַחֹמָה . . . הַלְּבָנָה the brick . . . the wall (cf. <i>passim</i> )
Jer 2:34	MT	אֵלֶּה (כִּי עַל כָּל) . . . (. . . but upon all) these
	LXX	(. . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσῃ) δρυί
	=	אֵלֶּה/אַלְהָה (= S) terebinth (cf. Judg 6:11, 19; 1 Sam 17:19; 2 Sam 18:9; etc.; for similar interchanges, see 1 Sam 17:2; Jer 23:10; Ezek 16:59)

Jer 6:15	MT	פְּקָדָתֵיִם (בעת) (at the time that) I punished them (the <i>yod</i> may be disregarded. See p. 157)
	LXX	(καὶ ἐν καιρῷ) ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν
	=	פְּקָדָתֵם (and at the time of) their punishment (cf. <i>passim</i> )
Jer 13:19	MT	(הגלת יהודה) כָּלָה (הגלת שלומים) all (Judah has been deported, wholly deported)
	LXX	συνετέλεσεν
	=	כָּלָה/כָּלָה finished (cf. <i>passim</i> )

β. *Reconstructed vocalizations that are preferable to MT.* If the internal criteria in favor of the vocalization underlying the LXX are convincing, that vocalization must have been original. Naturally, all arguments based on internal evidence are subjective. Cf. pp. 126–127 for a similar evaluation of consonantal deviations. Here are two examples:

Jer 23:17	MT	לְמִנְאֲצֵי דְבַר ה' to those who despise me <they say:> “The LORD has said”
	LXX	τοῖς ἀπωθουμένοις τὸν λόγον κυρίου
	=	לְמִנְאֲצֵי דְבַר ה' to those who despise the word of the LORD

The reading of MT is contextually difficult: God is spoken of in v. 16 in the third person, but in our verse in the first person (מִנְאֲצֵי). Besides, it is difficult to assess the contextual meaning of “The LORD has said” (see further the commentaries). On the other hand, the reading reflected in the LXX is contextually acceptable (note the parallel with v. 17b and 1QS V 19 וכול מנאצי דברו).

Isa 3:12	MT	(עמי נגשיו מעולל) ונשים (משלו בו) (my people—its oppressors deal cruelly) and women (ruled over them)
	LXX	οἱ ἀπαιτοῦντες
	=	ונשים
		and usurers

Although MT is not impossible (if מעולל is taken as “child”), the LXX is preferable because of נגשיו in the parallel hemistich and because of the context.

γ. *External support.* Some reconstructed vocalizations agree with external Hebrew evidence as indicated by the *matres lectionis* in those sources (see chapter 5.A excursus 1). This applies especially to sources containing a very full orthography, such as 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.

Isa 5:28	MT	כְּצֹר (נחשבו) (seem) like a foe
	LXX	ὡς στερεὰ πέτρα
	=	כְּצֹר
		like a rock
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	כצור
Isa 15:3	MT	(בחוצתיו) תִּגְרוּ (שק)
	LXX	περιζώσασθε
	=	תִּגְרוּ
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	חגורו

The imperative form reflected in the LXX agrees with the imperative of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, even though the two forms differ morphologically.

Isa 54:11	MT	וַיִּסְדֹּתֶיךָ and I shall lay your foundations
	LXX	καὶ τὰ θεμέλιά σου
	=	וַיִּסְדֹּתֶיךָ
		and your foundations
	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	ויסודותיך

However, one frequently *lacks criteria* whereby to determine whether a given rendering reflects the vocalization of MT or a different one:

Isa 6:7; Jer 1:9 MT וַיַּנֵּעַ (על פי) – καὶ ἤψατο

It is hard to know whether the translators read וַיַּנֵּעַ or וַיֵּנֵעַ. The translators may have had difficulty in expressing in Greek the causative aspect of the *hiph'il*.

Isa 54:13 MT לְמוֹדֵי ה' – διδακτοὺς θεοῦ

Jer 13:23 MT לְמִדֵּי הָרָע – μεμαθηκότες τὰ κακά

Translators cannot distinguish between לְמוֹדֵי(ו) of MT and the pass. part. לְמוֹדֵי, which would have been rendered in the same way.

1 Sam 2:13 MT כְּבִשְׁל הַבָּשָׂר – ὡς ἂν ἡψήθη τὸ κρέας

It cannot be determined whether the translator had the vocalization of MT in mind or a vocalization like כְּבִשְׁל.

#### B. Word Divisions

Occasionally the LXX and MT differ with regard to the division of words.<sup>9</sup> For example, one or more letters, which in MT are written at the end of a word are reflected in the translation as belonging to the beginning of the next word, or those written at the beginning of a word are reflected as belonging to the end of the preceding word. Sometimes divisions between words go beyond the border of the verse and in such cases the difference applies not only to words but also to verses.

The overwhelming majority of the Judean Desert texts (biblical and non-biblical) use one of two systems for separating words in Hebrew and Aramaic, employing either word-dividers of some kind (mainly dots) in texts written in the paleo-Hebrew script, or spacing between words in the texts written in the Aramaic (square) script. Likewise, in medieval codices, scribes divided the words by means of spaces, a method commonly used from the beginning of the 7th century BCE for documents written in the square script. On the other hand, continuous writing (*scriptio continua*) or that with very few breaks, is attested only in some texts or groups of texts,

9. For examples, see Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 234–241; Schuurmans Stekhoven, *Dodekapropheton*, p. 124; Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 158–167; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, pp. 2ff.; Perles, *Analekten*, pp. 35ff.; Fischer, *Pentateuch*, pp. 11ff.; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 105–106.

probably in order to economize on space, since the texts use final Hebrew letters, or for aesthetic reasons.

On the basis of this evidence, it seems likely that word division of some kind was also used in the first biblical texts.<sup>10</sup> However, other scholars claim that the first biblical texts were written without any word division, as already suggested by Nachmanides in his introduction to the Torah.<sup>11</sup>

The evidence from the LXX provided below seemingly supports the view that words were not separated, but the Qumran scrolls show that words were often written with little space intervening. Such cases could be misinterpreted easily as pointing to lack of space in the translators' *Vorlage*, but that would be a wrong inference from the data.

In order to determine the status of a word division reflected in the LXX, one ought to try to decide whether it is preferable to that of MT or not (for in each case, only one of two alternative divisions can reflect the original intention of the biblical text). Internal evidence suggests that some word divisions in the LXX are *more original* than those in MT. Since in these cases the LXX may reflect the original intention of the biblical text, one need not assume that the exegesis reflected in the division of the LXX derived from the translators themselves. Two such examples follow:

Gen 49:19–20	MT	וְהָיָא יֶגֶד עֶקֶב <u>מְאִשֶׁר</u> <sup>(20)</sup> שְׁמִנָה לְחֶמֶד but he shall raid <their> heel. <sup>(20)</sup> <i>Of Asher</i> , his food is rich
	LXX	αὐτὸς δὲ πειρατεύσει αὐτῶν κατὰ πόδας. <sup>(20)</sup> Ἀσηρ, πίῳν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄρτος (= V)
	=	וְהָיָא יֶגֶד עֶקֶבְכֶם <u>אֲשֶׁר</u> <sup>(20)</sup> שְׁמִנָה לְחֶמֶד but he shall raid <i>their</i> heel. <sup>(20)</sup> <i>Asher</i> , his food is rich

The reading reflected by the LXX (as well as by V) is preferable, because all other tribal blessings in this chapter similarly begin with a name of a tribe without a prefix. Furthermore, עֶקֶבְכֶם of the LXX is contextually more appropriate than עֶקֶב (MT) because it is more specific than the general phrase “the heel”.

10. Thus A.R. Millard, “‘Scriptio Continua’ in Early Hebrew: Ancient Practice or Modern Surmise?” *JSS* 15 (1970), pp. 2–15; J. Naveh, “Word Division in West Semitic Writing”, *IEJ* 23 (1973), pp. 206–208.

11. This assumption is not supported by the evidence. See Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 196–197.

1 Sam 1:24	MT	בַּפָּרִים שְׁלֵשָׁה = בַּפְּרִימִשְׁלֵשָׁה (= T V) (And when she had weaned him, she took him up with her,) along with <i>three bulls</i> , (an ephah of flour . . .)
	LXX	ἐν μόνῳ τριετίζοντι
	=	בַּפְּרִימִשְׁלֵשָׁה = בַּפְּרִי מִשְׁלֵשָׁה (= S) along with a <i>three-year-old bull</i>
	1QSam <sup>a</sup>	בַּפְּרִי בֶן בֶּקֶר מִשְׁלֵשָׁה [along with (a)] <i>three-year-old [bull from]</i> the herd

Probably the text of MT T V on the one hand, and LXX S 4QSam<sup>a</sup> on the other, derived from a common source: בַּפְּרִימִשְׁלֵשָׁה. According to the context, it is reasonable to assume that this word cluster originally referred to a פָּר, “bull” in the singular,<sup>12</sup> i.e., “she <Hannah> took him <Samuel> up . . . along with a three-year-old bull”. When word division and *matres lectionis* were inserted into the text (a *yod* in the first word and a *he* at the end of the second one; furthermore, the non-final *mem* was changed into a final letter), the common source of LXX S 4QSam<sup>a</sup> retained this understanding, while the text of MT T V was corrupted.

For further examples, see 1 Sam 1:1 (p. 153); 2 Sam 7:1 (p. 157); Jer 2:20 (p. 84); 5:6 (p. 80); 23:33 (p. 229); 41:9 (p. 230); Ps 9:6 (p. 112); 23:4 (p. 86); 2 Chr 32:22 (p. 150).

When the word division reflected in the LXX presumably is *not original*, the exegesis behind it derives either from the translator or from his *Vorlage*. The former possibility is the more likely when several differences between the LXX and MT occur within a short stretch, relating not only to word division, but also to *matres lectionis* and vocalization, and sometimes to graphically similar consonants as well. It often seems as if such differences, when taken together, denote the maneuvering of the translator and not his source:

Isa 16:1	MT	שְׁלַח (שְׁלַח) כֹּר מִשְׁלַח אֶרֶץ (send) a lamb to the ruler of the land
	LXX	(ἀποστελῶ) ὡς ἔρπετὰ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
	=	כִּרְמֵשׁ לְאֶרֶץ (I will send) as it were reptiles upon the land

12. In the following verse the bull is referred to in the singular in all the textual witnesses (“Then they slew *the bull*”).

It is hard to account for רָמַשׁ in the present context (Mt. Zion).

Ps 4:3	MT	עַד מָה (כְּבוֹדִי לְכָל־מָה) (How long) will my glory suffer shame?
	LXX	(ὥς πότε) βαρυκάρδιοι. ἵνα τί . . .
	=	כְּכֹדִי לְב לָמָּה (until when) will you be heavy of heart? Why . . .

The Hebrew text reflected in the LXX is syntactically awkward and contextually less appropriate than MT.

The examples adduced in this paragraph show that in some cases the word divisions in the LXX reflect the translators' exegesis, while in other cases they reflect an exegetical tradition.

### C. Sense Divisions

The relation between words (both between the different parts of the verse and between verses) is indicated in MT by different accents (טעמים), both conjunctive and disjunctive. See Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 40–43 for an analysis and additional examples. These accents reflect exegetical traditions that often differ from the exegesis embedded in the LXX. Ancient manuscripts, such as the Qumran scrolls, did not indicate these sense-divisions. Some examples of differences in sense-divisions follow, referring only to the two main disjunctive accents of MT, *ethnachta* and *silluq*:

Exod 22:12	MT	אם טרף יטרף יבאהו עד א הטרפה לא ישלם (If it was torn, he shall bring it <the remains> as evidence. א He need not make restitution for the prey.
	LXX	ἄξει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν καὶ οὐκ ἀποτείσει
	=	אם טרף יטרף (יבאהו עד א הטרפה לא ישלם) (If it was torn) he shall bring him <the owner> to the prey. א He need not make restitution. Cf. T <sup>1</sup> (doublet) and V. <i>Mek. Nezikin</i> 12 exhibits both possibilities.

The different understanding of the relation between the words in this verse is connected with the difference in vocalization (עַד/עַד). See further L. Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden, 1948; repr. Hildesheim, 1987), pp. 6–8; S. Kogut, *Correlations between Biblical Accentuation*

*and Traditional Jewish Exegesis: Linguistic and Contextual Studies* (Heb.; Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 131–133.

Isa 3:11	MT	<p>... אוי לרשע רע <sup>א</sup> כי גמול ידיו יעשה לו  Woe unto the wicked! It shall be ill with him. <sup>א</sup>  For what his hands have done shall be done to him.</p>
	LXX	<p>οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνομῷ, <sup>α</sup> πονηρὰ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν  χειρῶν αὐτοῦ συμβήσεται αὐτῷ</p>
	=	<p>... אוי לרשע <sup>א</sup> רע כגמול ידיו יעשה לו  Woe to the transgressor! <sup>א</sup> Bad things shall  happen to him according to the works of his  hands.</p>
Jer 6:7–8	MT	<p>... על פְּנֵי תמיד חלי ומכה: הוסרי ירושלם  before me are continually grief and wounds.  Take warning, Jerusalem.</p>
	LXX	<p>ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς διὰ παντός. πόνω καὶ  μάστιγι παιδευσθήσῃ Ἱερουσαλημ</p>
	=	<p>... על פני(ה) תמיד: חלי ומכה הוסרי ירושלם  ... before her continually. With pain and scourge  you will be disciplined, Jerusalem.</p>
Jer 9:7(8)	MT	<p>... מרמה דְּבַר <sup>א</sup> בפיו שלום את רעהו ידבר  it speaks deceit. With his mouth each one speaks  peaceful words to his neighbor.</p>
	LXX	<p>δόλια τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν. τῷ  πλησίον αὐτοῦ λαλεῖ εἰρηνικά</p>
	=	<p>... מרמה דבר(י) פיו <sup>א</sup> שלום את רעהו ידבר  deceitful are the words of his mouth. To his  neighbor each one speaks peaceful words.</p>

See further Gen 1:11.

## CHAPTER 5

### VARIANTS, VARIANTS/NON-VARIANTS, AND PSEUDO-VARIANTS

The three preceding chapters dealt with the questions, “When to reconstruct variants?” (chapter 2) and “How to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of the LXX?” (chapters 3–4). This chapter discusses the major types of variants that are reconstructed from the LXX by means of the processes analyzed above. While one of the objectives of this chapter is to illustrate the practical results of those processes, we must also take one step backwards. Not all types of variants can be reconstructed with the same degree of certainty and accordingly a distinction is made between three different types of retroverted variants: variants, variants/non-variants, and pseudo-variants. The following pages are devoted to clarifying that distinction. It should be stressed that the analysis does not apply to the degree of certainty ascribed to individual retroversions, but to types of retroversions.

This chapter is divided into the following sections:

- A. Variants
  - 1. Pluses
  - 2. Minuses
    - α. Occasional minuses
    - β. Groups of minuses
    - γ. Haplography/dittography
  - 3. Transpositions
  - 4. Differences in words
    - α. Complete words
    - β. Letters
      - i. Interchanges
        - aa. Graphic similarity
        - bb. Phonetic similarity
      - ii. Metathesis
- Excursus 1: *Matres lectionis* and final letters

Excursus 2: Abbreviations?

Excursus 3: The script of the *Vorlage* of the LXX

Excursus 4: Variants retroverted from the revisions of the LXX

B. Non-variants

C. Variants/Non-variants

1. Connective *waw*/*kaí*
2. Singular/plural forms of nouns and verbs
3. Pronouns
4. Active/passive forms of verbs
5. Prepositions
6. The article

D. Pseudo-variants

1. Interchange of similar letters in “difficult” Hebrew words
2. Intrinsically improbable readings
3. Deviations from MT in the LXX causing further deviations in the translation

Excursus: Etymological exegesis

### A. Variants

*Electronic tools:* Differences between MT on the one hand and the Sam. Pent. and the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls on the other are indicated automatically within *Accordance*. Differences between MT and the reconstructed source text of the LXX are indicated in the *CATSS* module.

As noted on p. 5, a *variant* is any detail in a textual source of the Hebrew Bible that differs from a specific form of MT. Thus differences in letters and in complete words, as well as omissions, additions, and transpositions are all variants. Differences in orthography are also variants, but they are often treated as a separate category. *Retroverted variants*, that is, variants retroverted from a translation, likewise differ from MT. The term “variant” is also used for elements such as vocalization and different divisions of words and sentences which were not indicated in the scrolls used by the translators, but which necessarily are reflected in the translation (see chapter 4). Two further points must be made:

1. Retroverted variants existed either in writing or in the mind of a translator. As explained in chapter 3.B.8, not all retroverted variants necessarily existed in writing.
2. The term “variant (reading)” is meant merely as a formal designation for readings differing from MT. In no way does the use of this

term imply the secondary nature of the “variant” as compared with MT. See further chapter 1, n. 9.

Individual retroverted variants are listed in the apparatuses of the *BH* series (see chapter 7, n. 6) and the *HUB*. Likewise, retroverted variants are mentioned in many monographs on the individual books of the LXX (see *Classified Bibliography*, § 39; Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 14) as well as in all critical commentaries on the biblical books. Some such commentaries are mentioned in chapter 7.A. The older philological commentaries especially devote themselves to reconstructing variants from the ancient versions. Some of the monographs on the LXX *as a whole* are mentioned here in chronological sequence: Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*; J.B. de Rossi, *Scholia Critica in Veteris Testamenti libros seu supplementa ad varias sacri textus lectiones* (Parma, 1798); S. Davidson, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Exhibiting a Systematic View of That Science* (Boston, 1853 = Edinburgh, 1854), pp. 294–307; id., *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, Revised from Critical Sources; Being an Attempt to Present a Purer and More Correct Text Than the Received One of van der Hooght, etc.* (London, 1855); L. Reinke, *Die Veränderungen des hebräischen Urtextes des alten Testaments und die Ursachen der Abweichungen der alten unmittelbaren Uebersetzungen unter sich und vom masoretischen Texte nebst Berichtigung und Ergänzung beider* (Münster, 1866); H. Graetz, *Emendationes in plerosque sacrae scripturae Veteris Testamenti libros secundum veterum versiones nec non auxiliis criticis caeteris adhibitibus*, I–III (Breslau, 1892–94); Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*; Wutz, *Transkriptionen*; id., *Systematische Wege*; Perles, *Analekten*; Kennedy, *Amendment*; A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: A Presentation of Problems with Suggestions to Their Solution* (Leiden, 1966); Brockington, *NEB*; Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*; R.S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York/Oxford, 1998). On the use of the LXX in modern biblical translations, see L. Greenspoon, “It’s All Greek to Me: The Septuagint in Modern English Versions of the Bible”, in: Cox, *VII Congress*, pp. 1–21. The monographs on the individual books are too numerous to be included here, but some are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

In addition to retroversions of single variants, one also finds retranslations of complete chapters and books of the LXX.<sup>1</sup> Such retroversions were

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1. Reconstructions of the *Vorlagen* of complete books or sections in the LXX should be distinguished from reconstructions of the original text of a biblical book or part of it. The latter reconstructions are based on *all* available sources, including the LXX, as well as conjectural emendation. For such reconstructions, see the

more in vogue around the turn of the century than in recent years, when the perils of large-scale retroversions have been more clearly recognized:<sup>2</sup>

following studies (arranged chronologically) presenting a partial or complete reconstruction of (parts of) biblical books: Cornill, *Ezechiel*; G. Bickell, *Das Buch Job nach Anleitung der Strophik und der Septuaginta auf seine ursprüngliche Form zurückgeführt und in Versmasse des Urtextes übersetzt* (Vienna, 1894); P. Haupt (ed.), *The Polychrome Bible, The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments: A New English Translation* (London/New York/Stuttgart, 1897–99); J. Meinhold, *Die Jesajaerzählungen Jesaja 36–39* (Göttingen, 1898); R. Peters, *Beiträge zur Text- und Literarkritik sowie zur Erklärung der Bücher Samuel* (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1899), pp. 58–62 <1 Sam 16:1–19:18>; C.H. Cornill, *Die metrischen Stücke des Buches Jeremia* (Leipzig, 1901); F. Giesebrecht, *Jeremias Metrik am Texte dargestellt* (Göttingen, 1905); D.H. Müller, *Komposition und Strophenbau, Alte und neue Beiträge, XIV Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien* (Wien, 1907); P. Haupt, “Critical Notes on Esther”, *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W.R. Harper*, II (Chicago, 1908), pp. 194–204; J. Begrich, *Der Psalm des Hiskia*, FRLANT 25 (Göttingen, 1926); C.C. Torrey, “The Archetype of Psalms 14 and 53”, *JBL* 46 (1927), pp. 186–192; K. Budde, “Psalm 14 und 53”, *JBL* 47 (1928), pp. 160–183; P. Ruben, *Recensio und Restitutio* (London, 1936); Wutz, *Systematische Wege*; W.F. Albright, “The Psalm of Habakkuk”, in: H.H. Rowley (ed.), *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 1–18; F.M. Cross, Jr. and D.N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (Baltimore, 1950; 2nd ed. Missoula, MT, 1975) <select passages>; id. and id., “The Song of Miriam”, *JNES* 14 (1955), pp. 237–250; F.M. Cross, Jr., “A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18”, *JBL* 72 (1953), pp. 15–34; L.A.F. Le Mat, *Textual Criticism and Exegesis of Psalm XXXVI, A Contribution to the Study of the Hebrew Book of Psalms*, *Studia Theol. Rheno-Traiectina* 3 (Utrecht, 1957); M. Naor, “Exodus 1–15, A Reconstruction”, in: S. Abramsky (ed.), *Sefer S. Yeivin* (Jerusalem, 1970) 242–282 (Heb.); P.D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 46–86; B. Mazar, “*hgbwrym ’šr ldwyd*”, ‘*oz ldwd* (Heb.; Jerusalem, 1964), pp. 248–267 = *Canaan and Israel* (Heb.; Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 183–207; A. Gelston, “Isaiah 52:13–53:12: An Eclectic Text and a Supplementary Note on the Hebrew Manuscript Kennicott 96”, *JSS* 35 (1990), pp. 187–211; P.G. Borbone, *Il libro del profeta Osea, Edizione critica del testo ebraico*, *Quaderni di Henoch* 2 (Torino, [1990]); K. Hognesius, *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16: A Critical Edition with Textual Commentary* (ConBOT 51; Stockholm, 2003); <cf. my review in *SEÅ* 68 (2003), pp. 208–213>. See also the earlier study of B. Kennicott, *The State of the Printed Text of the Old Testament Considered: A Dissertation in Two Parts* (Oxford, 1753–59), *Part the First compares I CHRON. XI with 2 SAM V and XXIII* <eclectic text provided in translation>.

2. The reader is also referred to the following works, which contain modern translations in “biblical style” rather than reconstructions of the Hebrew and Aramaic *Vorlagen* of the LXX, the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha: S.I. Fränkel, *Hagiographa posteriora denominata Apocrypha . . . e textu graeco in linguam hebraicam convertit* (Lipsiae, 1830); id., *כתובים אחרונים* (Warszawa, 1886); A. Cahana

- Genesis Th. Plüschke, *Lectiones alexandrinae et hebraicae, sive de emendando textu Veteris Testamenti graeci Septuaginta interpretum et inde hebraico* (Bonn, 1837) <Genesis 1–3>  
A. Sperber, *Septuagintaprobleme*, BWANT III, 13 (1929), pp. 65ff. <Genesis 28, 29, 48>  
M.A. Zipor, *The Septuagint Version of the Book of Genesis* (Hebrew; Ramat-Gan, 2005)
- Kings J. Debus, *Die Sünde Jerobeams*, FRLANT 93 (Göttingen, 1967), pp. 55–65  
Z. Talshir, *The Duplicate Story of the Division of the Kingdom (LXX 3 Kingdoms XII 24a–z)*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 6 (Jerusalem, 1989) <1 Kgs 12:24a–z, not in MT>
- Isaiah A. Zillessen, “Jesaja 52,13–53,12 hebräisch nach LXX”, ZAW 25 (1905), pp. 261–284  
Wutz, *Systematische Wege*, pp. 1023–1024
- Jeremiah E. Coste, *Die Weissagungen des Propheten Jeremias wider die fremden Völker* (Leipzig, 1895) <Jeremiah 25, 46–51>  
E. Tov, “Exegetical Notes on the Hebrew Vorlage of the LXX of Jeremiah 27(34)” in id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 315–331  
L. Stulman, *The Other Text of Jeremiah, A Reconstruction of the Hebrew Text Underlying the Greek Version of the Prose Sections of Jeremiah with English Translation* (Lanham/London, 1985)
- Ezekiel G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ezechiel auf Grund der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt* (Leipzig, 1905).  
Wutz, *Systematische Wege*, pp. 1024–1025
- Esther G. Jahn, *Das Buch Esther nach der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt* (Leiden, 1901); cf. pp. 62–63 above
- 1 Esdras G. Jahn, *Die Bücher Esra (A und B) und Nehemja* (Leiden, 1909), pp. 177–181 <1 Esdr. 3–5:6>

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(ed.), *הספרים החיצונים*, I–II (Tel Aviv, 1959); Z. Karl, *תרגום השבעים לתורה* (Jerusalem, 1979); A.S. Hartum, *הספרים החיצונים* (2nd ed.; Tel Aviv, 1967); id., *כתובים אחרונים* (Tel Aviv, 1969); R. Weiss, *משוט במקרא* (Tel Aviv, 1977), pp. 304–310 (Ps 151); B. Bar Kochba, *מלחמת החשמונאים* (Jerusalem, 1981) (1 Maccabees 1–9); H. Shelly, *Hebrew Translation of Codex B of the Septuagint: The Early Prophets* (Tel Aviv, 1983).

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|---------|---|
| Pss Sol | W. Frankenberg, <i>Die Datierung der Psalmen Salomos</i> , BZAW 1 (1896)  |
| Judith  | Y.M. Grintz, <i>The Book of Judith, A Reconstruction of the Original Hebrew Text</i> (Jerusalem, 1957 [Hebrew]); cf. A.M. Dubarle, VT 8 (1958), pp. 344–373.  |
| Baruch  | A. Herbst, <i>Das apokryphische Buch Baruch aus dem griechischen ins hebräische übertragen</i> , Programm Hildesheim, 1886 <not available to me><br>J.J. Kneucker, <i>Das Buch Baruch</i> (Leipzig, 1897)<br>R.R. Harwell, <i>The Versions of Baruch</i> , diss. Yale Univ., 1915, pp. 56–59 <Bar. 3:9–4:14><br>Tov, <i>Baruch</i> <Bar. 1:1–3:8><br>D.G. Burke, <i>The Poetry of Baruch: A Reconstruction and Analysis of the Original Hebrew Text of Baruch 3:9–5:9</i> , SBLSCS 10 (Chico, CA, 1982) |
| 1 Macc  | G.O. Neuhaus, <i>Studien zu den poetischen Stücken im 1 Makkabäerbuch</i> (Würzburg, 1974), pp. 46–79   |
| Add Dan | C. Kuhl, <i>Die Drei Männer im Feuer (Daniel Kapitel 3 und seine Zusätze)</i> , BZAW 55 (1930), pp. 128ff.  |

In the following pages, examples are given of individual retroverted variants, categorized according to the relationship between the variant and MT. In each paragraph, some bibliography is mentioned. Neither the analysis nor the bibliography is exhaustive; the intention is merely to illustrate the major types of variants.

### 1. Pluses

The LXX contains many additional elements (pluses) as compared to MT. Several of these reflect Hebrew pluses over against MT. For some examples, see Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 275–282; Wolff, *Observationes*, pp. 50–86; W. Deane, “The Septuagint Additions to the Hebrew Text”, *The Expositor* II, 8 (1884), pp. 139–157, 223–237, 293–305; Bludau, *Daniel*, pp. 46–53; Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 174–182; Kennedy, *Amendment*, pp. 150–165; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, pp. 157ff.; G.B. Gray, “The Additions in the Ancient Greek Version of Job”, *The Expositor* VIII, 19 (1920), pp. 422–438; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 56–80; de Boer, *Samuel*, pp. 54–61; Prijs, *Tradition*, pp. 76–99; Schreiner, *Richter*, pp. 36–39; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 33–41; B. Johnson, “On the Masoretic Text at the Beginning of the First Book of Samuel”, *SEÅ* 41–42 (1976–77), pp. 130–137; J. Hutzli, *Die*

*Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel: textkritische und literarische Analyse von 1. Samuel 1–2 unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes* (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 89; Zürich, 2007), pp. 129–139; M. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*, PhD Diss., Leiden, 2010. Cf. also p. 140 (doublets).

Other pluses reflect additions made by the translators (cf. pp. 50–52).

The text-critical evaluation of pluses of the LXX must be based on an analysis of the translation technique of the unit in which the plus is found. It should be noted that the existence of Hebraisms in some of these pluses makes it likely that they were based on Hebrew readings (cf. pp. 92–93). Of special interest are some sections which were omitted from the Hebrew text by way of *parablepsis* and which therefore are now pluses in the LXX (cf. p. 56). If the analysis of a presumed case of *parablepsis* in MT (*homoio-teleuton* or *homoioarcton*) is correct, it is legitimate to retrovert the original Hebrew text from the LXX. There are often favorable conditions for such retroversions if the words occurring in the Greek plus are paralleled by Greek–Hebrew equivalents in the context. One such example was analyzed on pp. 70–71. Two further examples follow (the identical elements that gave rise to the scribal error are italicized in Greek and underlined in Hebrew):<sup>3</sup>

1 Sam 14:41	MT	וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֵל ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִבָּה תַּמִּיִּם Saul then said to the LORD, the God of Israel, “Give Thummim”.
	LXX	καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ + τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον, εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία, κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ δὸς δῆλους. καὶ ἐὰν τάδε εἶπης ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ + δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα And Saoul said, “O Lord God of <i>Israel</i> , + Why is it that you have not answered your slave today? If this guilt is in me or in my son Jonathan, O LORD God of Israel, give clear ones <= Urim>, and if this is what you say, ‘In your people <i>Israel</i> ,’ + give, now, holiness <= Thummim>.” (NETS)

3. The omission could have occurred only on the Hebrew level. For the sake of clarity, the identical elements are italicized in Greek as well.

There seems to be no way of explaining the text except with the aid of the section which has been transmitted solely by the LXX (and V) and which, incidentally, provides the only description of the functioning of the oracle of the Urim and Thummim. This section must have been omitted accidentally,<sup>4</sup> and its *Vorlage* was reconstructed in *BH* as follows:<sup>5</sup>

ויאמר שאול אל ה' אלהי ישראל + למה לא ענית את עבדך היום אם  
יש בי או ביונתן בני העון הזה ה' אלהי ישראל הבה אורים ואם ישנו  
העון הזה בעמך ישראל + הבה תמים

2 Chr 23:18	MT	וישם . . . ביד הכהנים הלוים אשר חלק דויד He assigned . . . to the levitical priests whom David had organized.
	LXX	καὶ ἐνεχείρησεν . . . διὰ χειρὸς ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν + καὶ ἀνέστησεν τὰς ἐφημερίας τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν + ἃς διέστειλεν Δαυὶδ And he put his hand . . . <i>through</i> priests and Leuites + and re-established the daily divisions of the priests and the Leuites + , which David had appointed. (NETS)

Most commentaries suggest the following retroversion, which is supported by 2 Chr 8:14:

וישם . . . ביד הכהנים (ו)הלוים + ויעמד את מחלקות הכהנים  
(ו)הלוים + אשר חלק דויד

For further examples, see pp. 70ff., 80, 93, 94, as well as Lev 15:3; 17:4 (both shared with the Sam. Pent.); 1 Sam 10:1; 2 Sam 13:21–22 (also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>).

*α. Doublets.* The phenomenon of doublets belongs both here, in the section on pluses, and in the next section on minuses.

The LXX exhibits several types of doublets:

4. Thus A. Toeg, “A Textual Note on 1 Samuel XIV 41”, *VT* 19 (1969), pp. 493–498; B. Albrektson, “Some Observations on Two Oracular Passages in 1 Sam”, *ASTI* 11 (1978), pp. 1–10. However, not all scholars accept this view. For a discussion of the problems involved in this verse, see H.J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis*, KAT (Gütersloh, 1973), pp. 269–270.

5. The retroversion of *BH* is relatively reliable, except for two details: *הזה* is not substantiated by the Greek text nor is the retroversion of *τάδε εἶπης* as *ישנו העון הזה*.

1. The LXX reflects a faithful (literal) rendering of a doublet in its Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage*. Technically speaking this type of reconstructed Hebrew–Aramaic doublet is not an addition of the LXX.
2. The LXX *adds* to the translated reading of MT an element based on a different Hebrew reading, possibly found in a Hebrew manuscript differing from MT.
3. The LXX contains two or more alternative translations based on the *same* Hebrew *Vorlage*. This is a *translation doublet* that pertains to the translation technique of the LXX and not to its parent text.

For a discussion of doublets in the LXX, see especially Z. Talshir, “Double Translations in the Septuagint”, in: Cox, *VI Congress*, pp. 21–63; Talmon, “Double Readings”; id., “Conflate Readings”, *IDBS*, pp. 170–173; and further: Driver, *Samuel*, pp. lv ff.; Burney, *Kings*, pp. xxiii ff.; Perles, *Analekten*, II, pp. 109–112; O. Pretzl, “Septuagintaprobleme im Buch der Richter”, *Bib* 7 (1926), pp. 252ff.; Fischer, *Isaiah*, p. 13; B. Vellas, *l'Importance des traductions doubles dans le texte des Septante* (Athens, 1936 [not available to me]); R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making—A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (Philadelphia, 1937; repr. New York, 1971), pp. 41–43; F. Zimmerman, “The Perpetuation of Variants in the Masoretic Text”, *JQR* NS 34 (1944), pp. 459–474; J. Schreiner, “Textformen und Urtext des Deboralie-des in der Septuaginta”, *Bib* 42 (1961), pp. 173–200 (pp. 196ff.); R.G. Boling, “Some Conflate Readings in Joshua-Judges”, *VT* 16 (1966), pp. 293–298; J.G. Janzen, “Double Readings in the Text of Jeremiah”, *HThR* 60 (1967), pp. 433–447; R.J. Saley, “Greek Lucianic Doublets in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>”, *BIOSCS* 40 (2007), pp. 63–73. See further Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, 225–227.

## 2. Minuses

Many of the elements of MT are not found in the LXX, representing a short text either shortened by the translator or already existing in his *Vorlage*. The neutral term “minus” refers to both possibilities. The term “omission” seemingly refers only to the translator’s omissions, but many scholars use it also with reference to a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage*. For some examples of minuses of the LXX, see Reinke, *Veränderungen*, pp. 180ff.; Bludau, *Daniel*, pp. 53–58; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, §§ 89–96; Kennedy, *Amendment*, pp. 132–149; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 46–56; de Boer, *Samuel*, pp. 51–54; Jansma, *Zechariah*, p. 44; Goshen-Gottstein, “Theory”, pp. 152–153; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 157ff.; Hutzli, *Samuel*, pp. 129–139 (see p. 138); M. van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Phases*

and Minuses, PhD Diss., Leiden, 2010; Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 221–224. See further the bibliography on p. 138 and F.H. Polak and G. Marquis, *A Classified Index of the Minuses of the Septuagint, Part I: Introduction; Part II: The Pentateuch* (CATSS Basic Tools 4, 5; Stellenbosch, 2002).

A distinction is made between (α) occasional minuses, (β) groups of minuses, (γ) haplography/dittography.

α. *Occasional minuses.* The decision as to whether an element lacking in the translation was absent in the *Vorlage* or was omitted by the translator is based on an analysis of the translator's technique. There can only be certainty when external evidence (see chapter 3.A.5) supports the assumption of a shorter *Vorlage* or when MT is conflated,<sup>6</sup> as in the following instances:

Judg 20:22	MT	וּיִתְחַזֶּק (הָעָם אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל) the people, the men of Israel (took courage [sg.])
	LXX =	ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל
Isa 16:12	MT	(וְהָיָה) כִּי נִרְאָה כִּי נִלְאָה (מוֹאָב) (When Moab) presents himself, when he wearies himself (NRSV)
	LXX =	ὅτι ἐκοπίασε כִּי נִלְאָה
Jer 10:25	MT	וַיִּכְלֹהוּ וַיֹּאכְלֵהוּ (אֶת יַעֲקֹב) וַיִּכְלֹהוּ (they have devoured Jacob); they have devoured him, and consumed him (NRSV)
	LXX =	καὶ ἐξανήλωσαν αὐτόν וַיִּכְלֹהוּ (= some manuscripts of MT)
2 Chr 30:18	MT	מְרִבִּית הָעָם רַבַּת מֵאֲפָרַיִם
	LXX =	τὸ πλείστον τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπὸ Ἐφραιμ מְרִבִּית הָעָם מֵאֲפָרַיִם

β. *Groups of minuses.* All books of the LXX contain minuses vis-à-vis MT, but sometimes this phenomenon occurs so frequently that it characterizes a complete translation unit, as in the LXX of 1 Samuel 17–18, Jeremiah, Job and Esther (see pp. 19–20 and Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 286–318). The text-

6. For an analysis of conflated readings (doublets), see above p. 140.

critical evaluation of groups of minuses, as of occasional minuses, depends on the analysis of the translation unit as a whole. For example, on p. 19 the translation technique reflected in the LXX of Jeremiah was characterized as relatively literal. Hence the frequent omissions of the LXX of Jeremiah should be ascribed not to the translator but to his shorter Hebrew *Vorlage*, which resembles texts recently discovered at Qumran (4QJer<sup>b, d</sup>).

We take Jer 27:18–22 (34:15–18) as an illustration of such a short text. In this case, as in several others, the short text underlying the LXX was probably expanded to the longer text of MT (cf. Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 286–294). Below, the short text underlying the LXX is printed on the first line of each section in the reconstruction, and that of MT on the second line. The short text runs smoothly, and an analysis of the longer text makes it clear how and why it has been expanded to the present text of MT. The longer text supplies and completes names and epithets and states explicitly what is implicit in the short text. It also repeats and stresses details that were important to its editor. The additions in MT are inappropriate in the context (they are anti-climactic and serve as a *vaticinium ex eventu*) and betray their post-exilic date (additional examples of post-exilic additions are found in MT 25:14; 27:7; 29:6 as compared with the shorter LXX). For example, in these verses, the long text stresses that the temple vessels that are to be carried to Babylon by the exiles will, at a later stage, be returned to Jerusalem:

LXX	ואם נבאים הם ואם יש דבר ה' אתם יפגעו נא כי
MT	ואם נבאים הם ואם יש דבר ה' אתם יפגעו נא בה' צבאות לבלתי (18)
LXX	
MT	באו הכלים הנותרים בבית ה' ובית מלך יהודה ובירושלם בבלה
LXX	כי כה אמר ה'
MT	כי כה אמר ה' צבאות אל העמדים ועל הים ועל המכנות (19)
LXX	על(?) יתר הכלים אשר לא לקחם
MT	ועל יתר הכלים הנותרים בעיר הזאת (20) אשר לא לקחם
LXX	מלך בבל בגלותו את יכניה
MT	נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל בגלותו את יכניה בן יהויקים מלך יהודה
LXX	מירושלם
MT	מירושלם בבלה ואת כל חרי יהודה וירושלם (21) כי כה אמר ה'

LXX

MT צבאות אלהי ישראל על הכלים הנותרים בית ה' ובית מלך יהודה

LXX

MT בבלה יובאו נאם ה' בבלה יובאו ושמה יהיו עד יום פקדי אתם נאם ה' וירושלם (22)

LXX

MT והעליתים והשיבתים אל המקום הזה

For a reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the whole chapter and a commentary on the accretions in MT, see E. Tov, "Exegetical Notes" (p. 137). The above reconstruction does not refer to "grammatical words/elements" (cf. p. 64).

γ. *Haplography/dittography*. *Haplography* is the accidental omission of one of two or more identical or similar elements (letters, words); its opposite, *dittography*, is the accidental repetition of one element (letter, word, phrase). The phenomenon is described here under the heading of "minuses", but it could also have been described in the section on "pluses", because what looks like haplography from one angle is dittography from another. Only an analysis of the nature of the readings can determine whether the scribal phenomenon should be considered haplography in one source or dittography in the other, but at this stage of the description of the variants (as opposed to the analysis in chapter 8), value judgments are avoided.

For examples, see Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 271–274; Perles, *Analekten*, II, pp. 240ff.; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, §§ 83ff.; Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, pp. 359–370; Fischer, *Pentateuch*, pp. 11ff.; Jansma, *Zechariah*, p. 45; Klein, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 77–78; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 125ff. Note that J.L. Lundblom, *Jeremiah*, 1–3 (AB; Garden City, NY, 1999–2004) and id., "Haplography in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Jeremiah," *HS* 46 (2005), pp. 301–320 ascribes 64% of the shorter text of Jeremiah to haplography.

Some examples follow (for additional ones, see Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 222–24):

Deut 26:3

MT

(הגדתי היום) לה' אלהיך כי

(Today I declare) to the LORD *your God that*

LXX

κύριε τῷ θεῷ μου ὅτι

to the LORD *my God that*

=

לה' אלהי כי

1 Chr 11:31	MT	מַגְבַּעַת בְּנֵי בִנְיָמִן (= S V and 2 Sam 23:29) of Gibeah of the sons of Benjamin (the Benjaminites)
	LXX	ἐκ βουνοῦ Βενιαμιν (= T) of the hill of Benjamin
	=	מַגְבַּעַת בְּנִימָן
2 Chr 2:3	MT	הִנֵּה אֲנִי בֹנֶה behold, I am building
	LXX	καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομῶ behold, I, his son, am building
	=	הִנֵּה אֲנִי בֹנֶה/ו בֹּנֶה
2 Chr 3:2	MT	בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי בַּשָּׁנָה אַרְבַּע on the second day of the second month of the fourth year
	LXX	ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ in the second month in the fourth year
	=	בַּשָּׁנָה אַרְבַּע בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי (= MT <sup>MSS</sup> S V)
2 Chr 31:3	MT	(וּמִנֵּת הַמֶּלֶךְ מִן רְכוּשׁוֹ) לַעֲלֹת לַעֲלֹת (הַבֶּקֶר) (the contribution of the king from his own possessions) was for the burnt offerings: the burnt offerings (of morning)
	LXX	εἰς τὰς ὀλοκαυτώσεις (τὴν πρωινὴν . . .) for the burnt offerings, (of the morning . . .)
	=	לַעֲלֹת

### 3. Transpositions

The existence of a transposition in the *Vorlage* of the LXX is not easily demonstrable because of the differences in syntax between the Hebrew and Greek languages. For a discussion, see Talmon, “Textual Study”, pp. 358ff.; W. Headlam, “Transpositions of Words in MSS”, *CR* 16 (1902), pp. 243–256; Jansma, *Zechariah*, p. 45; Klein, *Textual Criticism*, p. 79; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, p. 108. A few examples of transpositions follow:

Gen 30:43	MT	(ויהי לו צאן רבות) ושפחות ועבדים (וגמלים וחמרים) (≈ Sam. Pent.; = T <sup>OJN</sup> V) (He had large flocks,) maidservants and menservants, (camels and asses)
	LXX*	καὶ παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι (= S)
	=	ועבדים ושפחות menservants and maidservants
2 Sam 5:13	MT	וילדו עוד לדוד בנים ובנות (= T) and more sons and daughters were born to David
	4QSam <sup>a</sup>	לדוד עוד = LXX (τῷ Δαυὶδ ἔτι) S
Cf. 1 Chr 14:3	MT	וילד דוד עוד בנים ובנות (= LXX T)
Deut 33:21	MT	... ספון ויתא (ראשי עם)
	LXX*	συνηγμένων ἅμα ἀρχηγοῖς λαῶν who are <i>assembled</i> together with the leaders of the peoples

The text of MT is very difficult and probably corrupt (see the commentaries). LXX probably reflects the two words in an inverted sequence (ויתאספון).

See further the transpositions in Deut 11:1; 33:8 mentioned on p. 103. It should be noted that the text-critical value of most transpositions cannot be evaluated easily (see, e.g., the transpositions in the LXX in Gen 7:4; Exod 7:24; Judg 14:2; Jer 4:5, 9).

#### 4. Differences in words

*a. Complete words.* Because of the uncertainty regarding the reconstruction of word-variants, the retroversions adduced here are accompanied by supporting external evidence. A larger selection of word-variants is adduced in Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 227–262.

Deut 32:8	MT	בני ישראל (למספר) (= Sam. Pent. T <sup>OJFN</sup> S V) (according to the number) of the sons of <i>Israel</i>
	4QDeut <sup>j</sup>	בני אלהים (according to the number) of the sons of <i>God</i>
	LXX <sup>848 106c</sup>	υἱῶν θεοῦ
	LXX <sup>most MSS</sup>	ἀγγέλων θεοῦ = Aquila

1 Sam 1:23	MT	<u>אך יקם יהוה את דברו</u> (= T V) May the LORD fulfill <i>His word</i> .
	LXX	ἀλλὰ στήσαι κύριος τὸ ἐξηλθὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου
	=	<u>אך יקם יהוה (את) היוצא מפֿיך</u> May the LORD fulfill that which comes out of your mouth. (= 4QSam <sup>a</sup> <u>ה היוצא מפֿיך</u> [אך יקם יהוה])
1 Sam 2:22	MT	לכל ישראל to <i>all</i> Israel
	LXX	τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ to the <i>children</i> of Israel
	=	לבני ישראל (= 4QSam <sup>a</sup> )

For further examples see pp. 87–88.

β. *Letters*.

i. *Interchanges*. Probably the largest group of retroverted variants consists of words that differ in one, two or more letters from the corresponding words in MT. Such examples have been collected and described by many scholars:<sup>7</sup> Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 241–266; Toepler, *Pentateuch*, pp. 5–6; Frankel, *Vorstudien*, pp. 205ff.; Reinke, *Veränderungen*, pp. 60ff., 283ff.; Scholz, *Jesajas*, pp. 38ff.; Margolis, “Studien”, pp. 258ff.; Driver, *Samuel*, pp. lxv ff.; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, pp. 81ff.; Fischer, *Pentateuch*, pp. 1–17; Kennedy, *Amendment*, pp. 12–121; Fischer, *Isaias*, pp. 69–89; Wutz, *Transkriptionen*; id., *Systematische Wege*, pp. 94–103; Vogt, *Critica textus*, pp. 9–15; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 109ff.; see further Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 226–238.

Interchanges of letters are illustrated well by personal names, because the evaluation of their Greek transcriptions does not depend on the analysis

7. Similar interchanges of letters in parallel sections in the Hebrew Bible have been collected by F. Vodel, *Die konsonantischen Varianten in den doppelt überlieferten poetischen Stücken des massoretischen Textes* (Leipzig, 1905); A. Sperber, “Hebrew Based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission”, *HUCA* 14 (1939), pp. 153–249; id., *Grammar*, pp. 235ff.

Interchanges of consonants in biblical manuscripts have been collected by Perles, *Analekten*, pp. 50–61; *Analekten*, II, pp. 28–42; Driver, *Samuel*, pp. lxvff.; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, pp. 81ff.; Prijs, *Tradition*, pp. 54ff.

of translation technique. See Frankel, *Vorstudien*, pp. 95ff.; Ziegler, *Beiträge*, pp. 59–86; Sperber, *Grammar*, pp. 173ff.; Knobloch, *Hebrew Sounds* (p. 56).

Examples of interchanged letters in common nouns follow:

aa. Graphic similarity (cf. p. 178)

ד/ר

Gen 22:13	MT	(וירא והנה) איל אֶחָד (נאחזו בסבך בקרניו) (= T <sup>O</sup> ; ≈ V) (He looked up and there was) behind <him> a ram (caught by its horns in a thicket.)
	LXX	κρίος εἷς (= MT <sup>MSS</sup> Sam. Pent. T <sup>JN</sup> S)
	=	איל אחד a (literally: one) ram
Gen 47:21	MT	וְאֵת הָעָם הָעֶבְרִי (אֶתוֹ) לְעָרִים (and as for the people), he transferred (them) to the cities
	LXX	κατεδουλώσατο . . . εἰς παῖδας he enslaved (them) . . . as servants
	=	לְעֶבְדִּים . . . הָעֶבְרִי (= Sam. Pent.) <sup>a</sup>

a. Note that the two retroverted variants are interrelated and must be evaluated together.

Similarly:

Jer 15:14	MT	וְהֵעֵבַרְתִּי and I will transfer
	LXX	καὶ καταδουλώσω σε and I will enslave you
	=	וְהֵעֵבַדְתִּיךָ (= Jer 17:4 MT)

See further Num 16:15 (p. 113); 1 Sam 13:3 (p. 64); 17:8 (p. 64); Isa 23:10 (p. 87); Jer 2:16 (p. 78); 5:6 (p. 83); 6:18 (p. 186); 7:29 (p. 120); 8:14, etc. (p. 69); 31:8 (p. 185); 31:12 (p. 181); 41:9 (p. 230); 51:58 (p. 180); Hos 13:5 (p. 96); Neh 10:30 (p. 184); 1 Chr 14:15 (p. 154).

## ו/י

Isa 33:13	MT	(שמעו) . . . וְדַעו (listen) . . . and know
	LXX	(ἀκούσονται) . . . γνώσονται (they will listen) . . . they will know
	=	יִדְעוּ (= 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> )
Jer 10:20	MT	(בני) יִצְאָנִי וְאִינָם (my children) <i>have left me</i> and they are not
	LXX	καὶ τὰ πρόβατά μου οὐκ εἰσὶν and <i>my flock</i> are no more
	=	יִצְאָנִי אִינָם
ibid.	MT	(אין נטה עוד אהלי) ומקים (יריעותי) (there is no one to spread my tent again) and to set up (my curtains)
	LXX	τόπος place
	=	(ו)מקום

See further Isa 21:2 (p. 87); Jer 51:58 (p. 180); 52:21 (p. 180); Ps 23:4 (p. 86).

## מ/ב

2 Sam 5:20	MT	(ויבא דוד) בַּכְּעַל פְּרָצִים (and David came) to Ba'al-Perazim
	LXX	ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω διακοπῶν from the upper breaches
	=	מִמְּעַל פְּרָצִים
Isa 11:15	MT	(והחרים) (ה' את לשון ים מצרים) and (the LORD) will destroy (the tongue of the sea of Egypt)
	LXX	καὶ ἐρημώσει and he will lay waste
	=	והחרב (= T, S)

See further Jer 29:26 (p. 229).

## ח/ה

Judg 5:10	MT	אתננות צהרות <i>tawny asses</i>
	LXX <sup>B</sup>	ἐπὶ ὄνου θηλείας μεσημβρίας on a she-ass <i>at noon</i>

The translator read his Hebrew text as צהרות, which he derived from צהרים (for a similar understanding, see *b. Erubin* 54b: צהורות שעושין אותה (כצהרים)).

Jer 16:7	MT	ולא יפרסו להם על אבל and no one shall break <i>for them</i> for the mourner
	LXX	καὶ οὐ μὴ κλασθῇ ἄρτος ἐν πένθει αὐτῶν and no <i>bread</i> shall be broken in their mourning
	=	ולא יפרסו (להם?) לחם על אבל

For the phrase פרס לחם (to break bread), see Isa 58:7 and Lam 4:4 שאלו לחם. Similar interchanges of לחם and להם occur in Jer 5:6 and 1 Chr 12:40(41).

2 Chr 32:22	MT	וינהלם and he guided them
	LXX	καὶ κατέπαυσεν αὐτούς and he gave them rest
	=	וינח להם

The exact process cannot be reconstructed easily; probably the LXX reflects a different word division, an interchange of ה and ח, and an understanding of להם as להם.

Some retroversions of variants point to interchanges that occur only infrequently in Hebrew manuscripts:

## מ/ס

Isa 3:10	MT	אמרו צדיק כי טוב tell the righteous that it shall be well
	LXX	εἰπόντες δῆσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον ὅτι δύσχερστος ἡμῖν ἐστι saying: "Let us bind the righteous, for he is burdensome to us".

Δήσωμεν implies a variant אסרר while εἰπόντες reflects אמרר (אמר) of MT (doublet). The inclusion of δήσωμεν in the translation changed the meaning of the text and in the new context the translator felt compelled to render טרב antithetically with δύσχετος (see section D.3 below).

## נ/ר

Hos 12:1	MT	וְעִם קְדוּשִׁים נֶאֱמַן (and with the holy ones) he is faithful
	LXX	κεκλησεται he shall be called
	=	נֶאֱמַר (cf. T)

## ר/ו

1 Sam 20:30	MT	בֶּן נְעוּת הַמְרִדוֹת RSV: the son of a perverse, rebellious woman
	LXX	υἱὲ κορασίων αὐτομολούντων son of deserting maidens
	=	בֶּן נְעוּת הַמְרִדוֹת (cf. 4QSam <sup>b</sup> : בֶּן נְעוּת הַמְרִדוֹת)

## ש/ח

See p. 167.

## bb. Phonetic similarity

Phonetic variants retroverted from the LXX need not necessarily have been found in the manuscripts used by translators; the translators may have understood certain words in their *Vorlage* as expressing other words of similar phonetic value. Further, scribes of Hebrew scrolls as well as translators were influenced by phonetically similar words, so that the reflection of phonetic variants in the LXX does not necessitate any “dictation theory”, as has often been suggested for the LXX and Qumran scrolls.

*Gutturals*

1 Sam 28:2	MT	לִכְן אַתָּה תִּדְעַ therefore you will know
	LXX	οὕτω νῦν γινώσκει therefore you will now know
	=	לִכְן עַתָּה תִּדְעַ (= V)

Esth 7:4	MT	להשמיד להרוג ולאבד (to destroy, to kill) and to annihilate
	LXX	(εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ διαρπαγὴν) καὶ δουλείαν (to destruction, pillage) and slavery
	=	ולעבד (the translator had no exact form in mind)
1 Chr 17:16	MT	כי הביאתני עד הים (that you brought me) thus far
	LXX	ἕως αἰῶνος to eternity
	=	עד עלם

See further Josh 7:7 (p. 104); Jer 31:12 (p. 181).

#### *Palatals*

Isa 8:15	MT	(ונפלו ונשברו) ונוקשו (ונלכדו) (and they shall fall and be broken) and they shall be snared (and taken)
	LXX	καὶ ἐγγισουσιν and they shall approach
	=	ונגשו

#### *Dentals*

Isa 64:8	MT	(ואל) לַעַד (תזכר עון) (and do not remember iniquity) forever
	LXX	ἐν καιρῷ at the time
	=	לעת (= 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> )

Cf. Prijs, *Tradition*, pp. 48ff.

Jer 11:14	MT	(כי אינני שמע בעת קראם אלי) בְּעֵד (רעתם) (for I will not listen at the time of their calling to me) because of (their trouble)
	LXX	ἐν καιρῷ at the time of . . .
	=	בעת

Cf. בעת in v. 12; 2:27, 28; 11:14 (MT<sup>MSS</sup> and versions).

### Labials

Num 25:5	MT	(ויאמר משה) אל שפטי (ישראל) (and Moses said) to the judges (of Israel)
	LXX	ταῖς φυλαῖς to the tribes
	=	אל שבטי

For reverse interchanges, see Deut 1:15; 1 Chr 28:1.

1 Sam 1:1	MT	בן־צוף (אפרתי)
	LXX	ἐν Νασιβ (Εφραιμ)
	=	בנציב
1 Chr 26:15	MT	(לעבד אדם נגבה) ולבניו (בית האספים) (Obed-Edom's <lot> came out for the south) and for his sons (was allotted the store-house)
	LXX	κατέναντι in front of
	=	לפני

### Sibilants

1 Sam 22:14	MT	וסר (אל משמעתך) and turned (to your bodyguard [?])
	LXX	καὶ ἄρχων and captain
	=	ושר (cf. T: ורב)

Jer 20:8	MT	אָעק I shall cry out
	LXX	γελάσσομαι I shall laugh
	=	אשחך; cf. Ps 52(51):8; Job 29:24; Eccl 3:4
Hos 5:11	MT	הוֹאִיל הַלֵּךְ אַחֲרַי (צוֹ) (he was determined to go after) a command
	LXX	τῶν ματαίων vanity
	=	שׁוֹ(א)
1 Chr 14:15	MT	וַיְהִי כַשְׁמַעַךְ אֶת קוֹל הַצֵּעֲדָה (and it shall pass when you hear the sound of) marching
	LXX	τοῦ συσσεισμοῦ the storm
	=	הַסֵּעֲרָה (also interchange of ד/ר)

### *Quiescent 'aleph*

For some examples of the representation of the *quiescent 'aleph* in the LXX, see Isa 37:29 (p. 190), Prov 3:8 (p. 83); 2 Chr 30:22. See further Vollers, *Dodekapropheton*, p. 11; Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 138–142; Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, pp. 342–359; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, p. 67; Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, p. 237.

ii. *Metathesis*. *Metathesis* is the transposition of two or more letters, usually erroneous when occurring on the textual level,<sup>8</sup> but acceptable when occurring as a natural development within languages.<sup>9</sup> In the following instances, the texts relate to each other as presumably original and erroneous (resulting from *metathesis*). Many examples of linguistic and textual transpositions were listed by M. Zohori, *The Metathesis and Dual Forms in the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem, 1991 [Hebrew]). See further:

8. On the phenomenon in general, see H. Junker, "Konsonantenumstellung als Fehlerquelle und textkritisches Hilfsmittel im MT", BZAW 66 (1936), pp. 162–174.

9. See Ibn Janah, *Sepher ha-Riqmah*, *Sha'ar* 32 (31) (ed. M. Wilensky; Berlin, 1930), p. 352; Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 19 n.

Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 266ff.; Perles, *Analekten*, II, pp. 43–49; Kennedy, *Amendment*, pp. 121–131; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, pp. 89ff.; Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, pp. 370–393. Additional examples are given here:

Num 21:28	MT	(אכלה ער מואב) בעלי (במות ארנן) (it consumed Ar of Moab), the lords (of the heights of the Arnon)
	LXX	καὶ κατέπιεν and it swallowed
	=	בלעה ( <i>metathesis</i> with interchange of ו/ה)
1 Kgs 14:24	MT	(וגם) קדש (היה בארץ) (and there was also) a male cult prostitute (in the land)
	LXX	σύνδεσμος <sup>a</sup> conspiracy
	=	קשר ( <i>metathesis</i> with interchange of ד/ר)
<p>a. The dictionary of LSJ is wrong in creating a new meaning for this σύνδεσμος, which has no parallel in the Greek language, viz., “sodomy”. Similarly incorrect is the remark by G. Fitzler in <i>ThDNT</i> VII (1971), p. 858, s.v. σύνδεσμος, that “the use of σύνδεσμος for קדש ‘cultic prostitute’ . . . is hard to understand”, and that “perhaps the translator has the jesting of Hermes in view, Hom. Od. 8, 317ff.” (<i>ibid.</i>, n. 3). The correct explanation of this translation equivalent is that קדש was misread as קשר by way of <i>metathesis</i> with an interchange of <i>daleth/resh</i>, and appropriately rendered by σύνδεσμος. Similar misconceptions by LSJ were referred to on p. 32.</p>		
Ps 49(48):12	MT	קרבם (בתימו לעולם) their inward (are their homes for ever)
	LXX	καὶ οἱ τάφοι αὐτῶν and their graves
	=	קברם (= S, T and <sup>’</sup> <i>al tigrê</i> in <i>b. Mo‘ed Qatan</i> 9b)

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1 Chr 26:16	MT	. . . שלכת (עם שער)
		(at the gate of) Shallekheth
	LXX	παστοφορίου
		the chamber
	=	לשכת

See further Deut 31:1 (p. 67); 2 Kgs 17:20 (p. 66); Jer 30:16 (p. 187); Mal 3:11 (p. 67).

## EXCURSUS 1

### MATRES LECTIONIS AND FINAL LETTERS

The manuscripts from which the LXX was translated were more “defective” than MT as is shown from several retroverted readings. At the same time, one need not accept the extreme opinion of de Lagarde, *Proverbien*, p. 4, according to which this *Vorlage* contained no *matres* at all. For a more balanced analysis, see Fischer, *Pentateuch*, pp. 1–10. One of the practical consequences of this evidence is that *matres lectionis* may often be disregarded or added for purposes of reconstructing the Hebrew text from which the translation was made. For examples of differences between MT and the reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX in *matres lectionis*, see Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 137–157; Driver, *Samuel*, pp. xxviii–xxxiii; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, pp. 32ff.; Wutz, *Transkriptionen*, pp. 393–417; Grabbe, *Comparative Philology*, p. 158. Some examples follow.

2 Sam 7:1	MT	הָנִיחַ לוֹ he gave him rest
	LXX	κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτόν he gave him an inheritance
	=	הָנִחְלוֹ = הִנְחִילוֹ
Isa 57:11	MT	(הלא אני מחשה) וּמַעֲלָם . . . (It is because I have stood idly by) so long (NJPS)
	LXX	(καὶ γὰρ σε ἰδὼν) παρορῶ (and when I see you) I overlook (you)
	=	וּמַעֲלָם = וּמַעֲלִים . . .
Jer 2:4	MT	(וכל) משפחות (בית ישראל) (and all) the families (of the house of Israel)
	LXX	πατριά the family
	=	משפחת

Jer 51(28):59	MT	שר מְנוּחָה
		the captain of a resting-place
	LXX	ἄρχων δώρων
		the captain of presents
	=	שר מְנוּחָה (= T)

See further Gen 49:10 (p. 86); Num 16:15 (p. 113); 1 Sam 1:24 (p. 130); Jer 6:25 (p. 84); 23:20 (p. 186); Ps 4:3 (p. 131); 104:17 (p. 82).

In the early Hebrew script, no distinction was made between the final and non-final forms of letters, and presumably none was made either in the first biblical scrolls written in the square (“Assyrian”) script. During the Persian period final forms of the letters *mem*, *nun*, *šade*, *pe*, and *kaph* (letters with long downstrokes) gradually developed but were not used consistently. A lack of consistency in the use of these letters is also reflected in several biblical and nonbiblical texts from Qumran. In these texts both final and non-final forms are written at the ends of words. Most of the instances in which nonfinal letters are written at the ends of words, occur in monosyllabic words such as גַּמַּל, אַמַּל, נַאמַּל (see J.P. Siegel, *The Severus Scroll and IQIs<sup>a</sup>*, SBLMasS 2 [Missoula, MT, 1975], pp. 1–14) and Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, p. 197. Traditions concerning a lack of consistency in the writing of the final forms of letters have also been preserved in the Talmud (*j. Meg.* 1.71d).

The scribal practices with regard to the writing of the final letters in Hebrew manuscripts have some repercussions for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX. As noted in chapter 4.B, the LXX reflects several word divisions which differ from the ones found in MT, and the reconstruction of these word divisions utilizes information about the scribal practices in the Second Temple period. Accordingly, in some of these reconstructions, final letters of MT are reconstructed for the LXX as non-final letters and non-final as final. For examples of such reconstructed differences, see Gen 49:19–20 (p. 129); 1 Sam 1:1 (p. 153); Jer 6:25 (p. 84); 23:33 (p. 229); 29:26 (p. 229).

The orthographic conventions concerning the use of final letters at the time of the translation as well as the extant differences in this matter between the various Hebrew sources thus allow us to disregard the final forms of מְנוּחָה in all Hebrew texts for purposes of reconstructing variants from the LXX and of comparing the Hebrew manuscripts with the ancient translations.

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From the preceding discussion, it is evident that there is little indication within the LXX itself whether or not its *Vorlage* employed final letters. Differences between MT and the LXX in word division (with disregard of final letters) originated either in the scroll from which the translation was made or with the translator himself. In both cases, word division by scribes of Hebrew manuscripts and translators reflects some form of exegesis.

## EXCURSUS 2

### ABBREVIATIONS?

The early texts of Hebrew Scripture provide no evidence for the existence of abbreviations. However, several differences between the MT and LXX suggest that these abbreviations were used at one time, since some elements in the Hebrew manuscripts were understood as abbreviations by translators or scribes of Hebrew manuscripts. On the basis of the evidence adduced below, the existence in manuscripts of an abbreviation of the tetragrammaton as י'/' is likely, but has not been supported by sound evidence from the Hebrew sources themselves. Abbreviations were at first posited by B. Kennicott, *Dissertatio generalis in Vetus Testamentum hebraicum, cum variis lectionibus ex codicibus manuscriptis et impressis* (Brunovici, 1783), pp. 49–55. For discussions and further examples, see Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 215; Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 165–170; Perles, *Analekten*, pp. 4–35; *Analekten*, II, pp. 1–10; Köhler, *Beobachtungen*, pp. 29–32; S.R. Driver, *Samuel*, pp. lxviii ff.; Fischer, *Pentateuch*, pp. 18–21; G.R. Driver, “Abbreviations in the Massoretic Text”, *Textus* 1 (1960), pp. 122–131; id., “Once Again Abbreviations”, *Textus* 4 (1964), pp. 76–94; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 81–89; M. Fishbane, “Abbreviations, Hebrew Texts”, *IDBS*, pp. 3–4.

Some examples follow of an abbreviated tetragrammaton (or letters understood as such). In the following examples, the tetragrammaton was abbreviated either by *yod* or *he*:

Judg 19:18	MT	ואת בית יהוה אני הלך (ואין איש מאסף אותי ביתה) (= T S V)	
		and to the House <i>of the</i> LORD I am going (and nobody takes me into his house).	
	LXX	καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐγὼ ἀποτρέχω (LXX <sup>B</sup> πορεύομαι)	
	=		ואת ביתי      אני הלך
		and to <i>my house</i> I am going	

Since the Levite is on his way home (cf. v. 29), the reading of the LXX is preferable. A probably original reading בִּיתִי, “my house”, was understood in MT as בֵּית יְיָ, “the House of the LORD”.

Jer 6:11	MT	וְאֵת חֲמַת יְיָ מְלֵאֲתִי (= Th T S V) But I am filled with the wrath <i>of the LORD</i> .
	LXX	καὶ τὸν θυμὸν μου ἔπλησα
	=	וְאֵת חֲמַתִּי מְלֵאֲתִי But I am filled with <i>my own</i> wrath.
Jonah 1:9	MT	(עֶבְרִי אֲנִי (וְאֵת ה' אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲנִי יָרֵא) (= T S V) I am a <i>Hebrew</i> (and I worship the LORD, the God of heaven).
	LXX	Δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγὼ εἰμι
	=	עֶבֶד יְיָ אֲנִי I am a servant of the LORD.

A probably original עֶבְרִי was understood as עֶבֶד יְיָ by the LXX or its *Vorlage*. Jonah's answers in MT suit the various questions concerning his origin, whereas according to the LXX Jonah does not answer these questions. Moreover, he refers twice to the worship of God. Beyond the differences in the understanding of the *yod*, the two texts also differ in their reading of the letters ר/ד. On the other hand, N. Leiter believes that the translation of the LXX is exegetical: “Jonah: Servant of the Lord”, in: S. Japhet (ed.), *The Bible in the Light of Its Interpreters, Sarah Kamin Memorial Volume* (Heb.; Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 58–72.

The following example also strongly suggests an actual abbreviation לִי for לְיוֹם or an understanding of לִי as such an abbreviation in the Sam. Pent. and the LXX. In this text, לִי functions like לַעַת in the parallel hemistich (cf. also יוֹם אִידִם in the third hemistich).

Deut 32:35	MT	לִי נָקָם וְשָׁלוֹם (= T <sup>OJFN</sup> S V) To be <i>my</i> vengeance and recompense . . .
	LXX	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδιζήσεως ἀνταποδώσω In the <i>day</i> of vengeance I will recompense Cf. Sam. Pent. לְיוֹם נָקָם וְשָׁלוֹם

See further Isa 24:3 (p. 68); Esth 6:1 (p. 183).

2 Chr 3:1	MT	נראה
		he was seen
	LXX	ὠφθη κύριος the LORD was seen
	=	נראה (ה) ה'

## EXCURSUS 3

### THE SCRIPT OF THE *VORLAGE* OF THE LXX

It is generally assumed that the LXX was translated from Hebrew scrolls written in the square script. This assumption is based on an analysis of the types of confusion of letters reflected in the presumed *Vorlage* of the LXX. In the square script certain letters are often confused, as exemplified on pp. 147ff. For an analysis of the script of the *Vorlage* of the LXX, see Fischer, *Alphabet* (Pentateuch); id., *Isaias*; H.M. Orlinsky, *JQR* 30 (1939–40), pp. 33–49, esp. pp. 37–38; Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 162–165. For a general discussion of the issues involved and for much bibliography, see D. Winton Thomas, “The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament”, in: H.H. Rowley (ed.), *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 253–255 (“The alphabet of the Septuagint-*Vorlage*”).

The distribution of the interchanges of letters in the different books (especially of proper nouns) was examined by E. Tov, “Interchanges of Consonants between the Masoretic Text and the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint”, in: M. Fishbane and E. Tov (eds.), *“Sha‘arei Talmon”: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (Winona Lake, IN, 1992), pp. 255–266. It was found that by far the greatest number of interchanges was between the pairs ך/ך and ן/ן. There is no special pattern in the direction of these interchanges, that is, there are, for example, not more interchanges from *daleth* in MT to *resh* in the LXX than *vice versa*.

Scholars examined the question whether we can determine the period in the development of the Hebrew alphabet to which the interchanges between the MT and LXX attest. Driver, *Samuel*, p. lxiv thinks of an “early form of the square character”. Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 162–165 speaks about the semicursive script of the middle of the second century B.C.E., while I.D. Miller suggested that the interchanges in Hosea attest to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.: *The Text of Hosea: A Demonstration That Most of the Differences in Meaning between MT, LXX, and PSH Arose in the Late Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC*, unpubl. diss., Melbourne College of Divinity, 1984.

Several pairs of letters that were similar in the square script were also similar in the paleo-Hebrew script, enabling the assumption that several of the confusions under investigation go back to scrolls written in the early Hebrew script. Indeed, scrolls in the paleo-Hebrew script were still available when the Bible was translated into Greek, as witnessed by 11 scrolls of the Pentateuch and one scroll of Job found at Qumran, see *DJD* IX and Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 96–97.

Examples suggesting interchanges of similar-looking letters in the paleo-Hebrew script in the *Vorlage* of the LXX have been presented by S. Talmon, “The Ancient Hebrew Alphabet and Biblical Text Criticism”, in: P. Casetti and others (eds.), *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*, OBO 38 (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1981), pp. 497–530. See further Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 291–296; Vogt, *Critica textus*, pp. 10–12. At the same time, it cannot be determined whether a particular confusion occurred during the translation process or in the course of the transmission of the Hebrew text prior to the translation. For example:

In the paleo-Hebrew script, the letters *ʾaleph* and *tav* were sometimes confused. The similarity between these letters explains the following interchange:

Gen 46:16	MT	אֶצְבֹן (= T <sup>OJN</sup> Sam. Pent. and S [אַצְבֹּן]) Eṣbon
	LXX	Θασοβαν ( <i>et sim.</i> ) Thasoban
	=	תצבן

In the same script, the letters *ṣade* and *yod* were also confused:

Exod 14:2 (sim. v. 9)	MT	הַחֵירוֹת (לפני פי) (= Sam. Pent. T <sup>OJN</sup> S V) (before Pi-)haḥiroth
	LXX	(ἀπέναντι) τῆς ἐπαύλεως (before) the encampment
	=	הַחֲצֵרוֹת (פי is probably not reflected in the LXX) Haḥaṣeroth/the encampment(s)

Sound criteria still need to be developed for identifying the script of the scrolls used by the translators, as well as its particular stage of development. A beginning has been made in the aforementioned studies.

## EXCURSUS 4

### VARIANTS RETROVERTED FROM THE REVISIONS OF THE LXX

The revisions of Aquila, Symmachus and *kaige*-Th, as well as of Origen reflect very few variants, for they were based on Hebrew texts that were very close to the proto-Masoretic text.<sup>10</sup> To the extent that such variants are reflected in the revisions of the LXX, they are of particular interest, because the extreme literalism of most revisions renders the retroversion of their *Vorlage* relatively easy. Consequently, variants retroverted from the revisions may be considered reliable. This does not apply to the revision of Symmachus, who often translated his *Vorlage* freely.

The variants reflected in the Lucianic revision, especially in the historical books, are often significant (see below).

Some examples of retroverted variants follow:

2 Kgs 1:17	MT	יהורם
	LXX <sup>O,L</sup>	Ιωραμ (ὁ) ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ
	=	יהורם אחיו
Jer 23:37	MT	כה תאמר
	Th = LXX <sup>O,L</sup>	οὕτως ἐρεῖτε
	=	כה תאמרו
Jer 33(40):14	MT	את הדבר הטוב
	Th = LXX <sup>O,L</sup>	τὸν λόγον μου τὸν ἀγαθόν
	=	את דברי הטוב (cf. Jer 29:10)

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10. Cf. especially J. Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila* (Philadelphia, 1916), pp. 81–100; I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Der Charakter der asterisierten Zusätze in der Septuaginta*, AASF B, 114 (Helsinki, 1959), pp. 42–45; B. Johnson, *Die hexaplarische Rezension des 1. Samuelbuches der Septuaginta* (Lund, 1963), pp. 40ff.

Jer 41(48):10	MT	וַיִּשְׁמָעֵלם (ישמעאל)
		and (Ishmael) took them captive
	LXX <sup>O,L</sup>	καὶ ὤρθηρυσεν
		and he rose up early
	=	וישכם

In contrast to the other revisions of the LXX, the *Lucianic* text in the historical books, LXX<sup>Luc</sup> (manuscripts borc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>) reflects many significant Hebrew variants.<sup>11</sup> Examples from manuscripts borc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> (sometimes followed by other manuscripts) are listed in the studies mentioned in n. 11, as well as in a valuable monograph by I. Hooykaas, *Iets over de grieksche vertaling van het Oude Testament* (Rotterdam, 1888). Further examples from manuscripts borc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> are listed here:

11. These variants are of great interest to biblical scholarship, as recognized by A. Rahlfs in his study *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, Septuaginta-Studien 3 (Göttingen, 1911) and earlier by A. Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus* (Basel, 1895). However, while Mez and Rahlfs described the Hebrew variants reflected in the Lucianic tradition as merely “proto-Lucianic”, recent studies have improved our understanding of the textual tradition embedded in the Lucianic manuscripts. On the basis of new material discovered in the Judean Desert, Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, suggested that manuscripts borc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> reflect the Old Greek translation in those sections in which the manuscripts of the “LXX” contain the so-called *kaige*-Th revision in 2 Sam 10:1(11:1)–1 Kgs 2:11 and 1 Kings 21–2 Kings 25 (cf. p. 17). A similar view was suggested by E. Tov, “Lucian and Proto-Lucian: Toward a New Solution of the Problem”, in: id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 477–488, according to whom manuscripts borc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> reflect the Old Greek translation upon which a Lucianic revisional layer was superimposed. On the other hand, according to Cross, “Biblical Text”, and id., “Evolution”, the first layer of the Lucianic tradition contains a proto-Lucianic *revision* towards Hebrew texts such as were found in Qumran (4QSam<sup>a,b,c</sup>). For a detailed discussion of these and other views, see R.A. Kraft (ed.), *SBLSCS* 2, pp. 3ff.; K.G. O’Connell, *IDBSup*, s.v. “Greek Versions (minor)”, pp. 377–380; R.A. Kraft, *ibid.*, s.v. “Septuagint”, pp. 811–814; T. Muraoka, “The Greek Text of 2 Samuel 11 in the Lucianic Manuscripts”, *AbrN* 20 (1981–82), pp. 37–59; id., “The Greek Texts of Samuel-Kings: Incomplete Translations or Recensional Activity?”, *AbrN* 21 (1982–83), pp. 28–49; Fernández Marcos, *Scribes*, pp. 27–37; S.P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel* (Torino, 1996); R.J. Saley, “Proto-Lucian and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>”, *BIOSCS* 41 (2008), pp. 34–45; J. Treballe Barrera, “The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and the Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua”, in: *Interpreting Translation*, pp. 401–413. See also below, chapter 6.B.1 and Dogniez, *Bibliography*, § 27.

1 Sam 9:24	MT	(כי למועד שמור לך) לאמר העם (קראתי) (for it was kept for you until the appointed time) saying: “The people (I have invited)”
	Nabe-osvwyz(mg)b <sub>2</sub> c <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> (txt)	παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ (= Old Latin) from the people
	=	מאת העם (cf. Deut 18:3, 1 Sam 2:3 LXX)
	LXX <sup>A</sup>	παρὰ τοῦ ᾠνου (= ἀνθρώπου [abbreviated]; for the interchange λαοῦ/ᾠνου, cf. 1 Sam 9:2 העם, where some manuscripts read λαόν and others ᾠνον abbreviated.)
	LXX <sup>B</sup> and rel.	παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους
2 Sam 12:9	MT	מדוע בזית את דבר יהוה (= LXX <sup>main MSS</sup> T S V) Why did you despise <i>the word of</i> the LORD?
	LXX <sup>Luc</sup>	ὅτι ἐξουδενώσας τὸν κύριον (= Th.) Why did you despise the LORD?
LXX <sup>Luc</sup> (manuscripts βοc <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> ), which in this chapter may reflect the Old Greek translation (see n. 11), contains the apparent original text of Nathan’s words to David (cf. v. 10 בזתני, “you have despised Me”), which has been mitigated by the addition in MT.		
2 Sam 18:2	MT	וישלח דוד (את העם) and David sent (the people)
	boz(mg)c <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub>	καὶ ἐτρίσσευσε Δαυειδ (= Old Latin) and David divided into three sections
	=	וישלש דוד
	rel.	καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Δαυειδ = MT
2 Kgs 15:10	MT	(ויכהו) קבל עם (וימיתהו) (and he struck him down) before the people (and killed him)
	bore <sub>2</sub>	ἐν Ιεβλααμ
	=	ביבלעם
	Axyc <sub>2</sub> Arm Syh	κατέναντι τοῦ λαοῦ = MT
	B and rel.	Κεβλααμ

The text of MT is suspect, because the Aramaic word קבל is not attested elsewhere in Hebrew Scripture. For the place name reflected in LXX<sup>Luc</sup>, cf. 2 Kgs 9:27.

For further examples, see especially the monograph of Hooykaas mentioned above on p. 166.

The Lucianic text in Samuel sometimes agrees with variants in the Qumran scrolls (see Ulrich, *Samuel*, but also Saley 2008 [see n. 11]). One example follows:

1 Sam 5:9	MT	אחרי הסבו אתו after they carried <i>it</i> around
	LXX <sup>B...</sup>	μετὰ τὸ μετελθεῖν αὐτήν after <i>it</i> went about
	boc <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub>	ἐν τῷ μετελθεῖν τὴν κιβωτὸν πρὸς τοὺς <i>Γεθθαίους</i> after the ark went about to the <i>Getthaioi</i>
	4QSam <sup>a</sup>	אחרי סבו גתה

### B. Non-Variants

The first objective of the text-critical analysis of the LXX is to identify elements that reflect Hebrew variants, but the negative results of this investigation must also be considered. For text-critical purposes, every deviation from MT in the LXX that does *not* reflect a variant, may be called a non-variant.

Although the use of this term for all deviations in the LXX that do not reflect variants is of little practical use, it is sometimes used here for the sake of clarity, especially in sections C and D. All renderings analyzed in chapter 2 may be described as non-variants.

### C. Variants/Non-Variants

For methodological clarity we make a subtle distinction between certain groups of retroverted variants. In the preceding two sections, variants and so-called non-variants were discussed. Ideally, all deviations from MT in the LXX are characterized as either variants or non-variants. Doubts will remain in distinguishing between these two groups, and possibly at a later stage of research new insights or new data will enable a better assessment of the text-critical value of deviations in the LXX.

At the same time, in the examples to be adduced in this section, it is *from the outset* impossible to distinguish between the two possibilities. These deviations belong to the area of grammar and translation technique and cannot be analyzed satisfactorily because the ancient translations do not contain sufficient text-critical information about them. Among other things, the data found in the Hebrew Qumran manuscripts seemingly agreeing with the LXX complicates the evaluation of the LXX (see below):

1. *Evidence from the translation.* Only the most literal translations (like Aquila's) represent most *grammatical* features of the Hebrew so consistently and stereotypically that they can be retranslated reliably into Hebrew. In all other translation units, that is, in the great majority of the books of the LXX, one encounters different and inconsistent representations of these elements, as indicated in chapter 1.E.2; hence the techniques used by the translators provide insufficient information for the reconstruction of many grammatical categories. For examples relating to the LXX, see Ch. Heller, *Peshitta, Genesis* (Berlin, 1927; repr. Tel Aviv, 1980), pp. xxi–xxiv.

2. *Evidence from ancient Hebrew manuscripts.* It is often believed that most versional deviations in the area of grammar, which were recognized as “secondary” when compared with MT, should be ascribed to the translators’ techniques. However, the analysis of Hebrew evidence, especially of several Qumran manuscripts, has made it clear that caution should be exercised because similar secondary readings have been recognized in ancient Hebrew sources. This applies to many such readings recognized in the Sam. Pent. and to 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, as analyzed by Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, as well as to other sources.<sup>12</sup>

As a result of these uncertainties, it is almost impossible to evaluate deviations in the LXX in many *grammatical* categories. Because many aspects of the translation techniques cannot be analyzed satisfactorily, no reliable variants can be reconstructed in these areas. Moreover, when internal Greek evidence militates against the retroversion of a given deviation in the LXX to a Hebrew variant, Hebrew evidence complicates the situation: the reconstruction of several types of variants which seemed improbable from the point of view of the LXX should now be considered possible because of the existence of such readings in Hebrew sources. Within this context, it is important to emphasize that the issue of the correctness of the retroversion should not be confused with the originality of the readings themselves (cf. p. 84). Even when the retroversion is reliable, the retroverted variant itself may be secondary in the development of the Hebrew text.

The following types of deviations in grammatical categories are briefly analyzed here:

1. connective *waw*/καί
2. singular/plural forms of nouns and verbs
3. pronouns
4. active/passive forms of verbs
5. prepositions
6. the article

The LXX also deviates from MT with regard to particles, conjunctions, tenses and conjugations of the verb, verbal forms, etc.

The designation of the above-mentioned categories as a special group in the text-critical judgment of the versions reflects the textual system of M.H. Goshen-Gottstein as outlined and exemplified by id., “Theory” and

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12. See, e.g., the analysis of the so-called Severus Scroll by J.P. Siegel, *Severus Scroll* (see p. 158).

id., *The Hebrew University Bible, The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem, 1995), preceded by fascicles of this edition published before 1995. Goshen-Gottstein devised a system for recording deviations from MT in the ancient versions which includes:

1. deviations recorded only in the language of the version (Greek, Aramaic, Latin, etc.);
2. deviations recorded both in the versional language and in Hebrew retroversion;
3. deviations from MT in the versions denoted by stereotyped designations (e.g., num, pers, verb).

The stereotyped designations of the latter type are relevant within the present context; they merely denote the type of relationship between MT and the version and they do not express any judgment as to whether or not the deviation reflects a variant. Thus, in Goshen-Gottstein's system, "num" denotes a difference between a noun in MT and its counterpart in a version with regard to their number (interchanges of singular/plural); "pers" denotes a difference with regard to the person in verbs, etc. Inherent in this notation system is the understanding that the notations in the apparatus should be limited to a statement of the facts without taking a stand on the text-critical value of the details themselves. Deviations from MT of this type are denoted here as variants/non-variants.

A similar differentiation between different types of reconstructed variants was accepted earlier, though very sporadically, in *BH* and more frequently in *BHS*, where one finds such notations as "+ suff 1 sg", "om cop", "verb finit". This system is also employed in *BHQ*, but rather sparingly, for example:

Eccl 3:11	MT	את הכל
	VS	indet(erminate)
Eccl 5:18	MT	האדם
	LXX	> art G*
Lam 3:49	MT	תדמה
	LXX	1 sg G (facil-styl)
Cant 8:10	MT	כמגדלות
	LXX <sup>Ms</sup> S	> prep

While these stereotyped designations are used very infrequently in the volumes of *BHQ* published until 2012, they are used much more frequently for explanations of the translators' exegesis. For example, **ואמרת לה** (and she said to him) in S in Ruth 3:14 for MT **ויאמר** (and he said) is explained in the apparatus as "assim-ctext" (assimilation to words in the context).

Likewise Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 60ff. describes a category of "Greek or Hebrew textual changes" which is more extensive than its counterpart in the *BH* series. See further the valuable remarks on this issue by Löhr, *Samuel*, pp. lxxvi ff. at an early stage in the research.

At the same time, other scholars approach grammatical deviations in the versions as if they can be retroverted easily into Hebrew. Examples of this practice are found in all relevant monographs and commentaries. They are illustrated here from the collections of retroverted variants of *BH(S)* and Brockington, *NEB* which contain, time and again, retroversions into Hebrew of differences of the above-mentioned type, that is, in number, person, pronouns, prepositions, etc.

<i>BH:</i>		
Gen 2:18	MT	<b>אעשה</b>
	LXX	ποιήσωμεν retroverted as <b>נעשה</b>
Gen 17:10	MT	<b>תשמר</b>
	LXX	διατηρήσεις retroverted as <b>תשמר</b> (cf. v. 9)
Jer 11:18	MT	<b>הראיתני</b>
	LXX	εἶδον retroverted as <b>ראיתי</b>
<i>BHS:</i>		
Lev 2:8	MT	<b>יַעֲשֶׂה</b>
	LXX	ἄν ποιῇ retroverted as <b>יַעֲשֶׂה</b>
Lev 2:11	MT	<b>תַּעֲשֶׂה</b>
	LXX	ποιήσετε retroverted as <b>תעשו</b>

Lev 2:13	MT	מנחתך
	LXX	θυσιασμάτων ὑμῶν retroverted as מנחתיכם
Lev 2:14	MT	בכורֶיךָ
	LXX	τῶν πρωτογεννημάτων retroverted as הבכורים

Brockington, *NEB* (retroverted variants accepted in the *NEB* translation):

Gen 48:20	MT	בן
	read	“בכם with Sept.” (ἐν ὑμῖν)
Isa 20:2	MT	בִּיד
	read	“אל with Sept.” (πρός)
Isa 25:2	MT	מעִיר
	read	“ערים with Sept.” (πόλεις)
Isa 32:1	MT	ולִשְׂרִים
	read	“ושרים with Sept.” (καὶ ἄρχοντες)

Examples of the categories mentioned on p. 170 now follow. In these examples, it cannot be decided whether or not the deviation in the LXX reflects a variant, not even when supported, as it were, by an ancient or medieval Hebrew source (see chapter 3.A.5).

#### 1. Connective waw/καί

The addition or omission of καί or of the connective *waw* may have derived either from the translator's literary feelings or from his *Vorlage* (for much relevant data, also on the LXX, see Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, pp. 414–429).

Addition		
Isa 2:4	MT	(ושפט . . . והוכיח . . . וכתתו) לא ישא ( . . . ולא ילמדו)
	LXX	καὶ οὐ λήμψεται
Isa 5:6	MT	(ואשיתהו בתה) לא יזמר (ולא יעדֶר)
	LXX	καὶ οὐ μὴ τμηθῇ

Jer 2:1	MT	זכרתי לך חסד נעורייך) אהבת כלולתיך
	LXX	καὶ ἀγάπης τελειώσεώς σου

#### Omission

Isa 6:1	MT	(בשנת מות המלך עזיהו) ואראה
	LXX	εἶδον

Isa 13:22	MT	(וענה . . .) וקרוב לבוא
	LXX	ταχὺ ἔρχεται

Isa 14:13	MT	(אעלה . . . ארים כסאי) ואשב
	LXX	καθιῶ

## 2. Singular/plural forms of nouns and verbs

Many of the changes in number in the translation derived from adaptations to the rules of the Greek language. Greek does not like combinations of a (collective) noun in singular with a plural verb nor, in fact, any incongruity of plural and singular forms. However, many harmonizations possibly inserted by the Greek translators are also found in Hebrew manuscripts; see Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, pp. 394–401.

#### Nouns

Josh 3:3	MT	(ואתם תסעו) ממקומכם
	LXX	ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ὑμῶν
Jer 10:2	MT	אל דרך הגוים (אל תלמדו)
	LXX	κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν
Jer 49(30):1	MT	הבנים . . . יורש אין לו . . . ועמו בעריו
	LXX	μη υἱοὶ . . . παραλημψόμενος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτῶν ἐν πόλεσιν αὐτῶν
Jer 49:16(29:17)	MT	בחגוי הסלע
	LXX	τρυμαλίας πετρῶν

#### Verbs

Josh 8:2	MT	עשית . . . תבזו לכם
	LXX	καὶ ποιήσεις . . . προνομεύσεις σεαυτῷ
Josh 24:13	MT	(ואתן לכם ארץ אשר לא) יגעת (בה)
	LXX	ἐκοπιάσατε

Jer 46(26):12	MT	גבור בגבור) כשלו
	LXX	ἡσθένησεν
Jer 50(27):42	MT	אכזרי המה ולא ירחמו קולם . . . ירכבו ערוך . . . יחזיקן
	LXX	. . . ἔχοντες, ἰταμός ἐστιν καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐλεήσῃ, φωνὴ αὐτῶν . . . ἰππάσονται παρεσκευασμένοι

### 3. Pronouns

Addition		
Josh 2:19	MT	וכל אשר יהיה אתך) בבית
	LXX	ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου
Isa 3:12	MT	מאשריך מתעים
	LXX	οἱ μακαρίζοντες ὑμᾶς πλανῶσιν ὑμᾶς
Jer 51(28):31–32	MT	עירו . . . והמעברות . . . ואת האגמים . . . ואנשי המלחמה נבהלו
	LXX	ἡ πόλις αὐτοῦ . . . τῶν διαβάσεων αὐτοῦ. . . καὶ τὰ συστήματα αὐτῶν . . . καὶ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ οἱ πολεμισταὶ ἐξέρχονται

For additional examples in the LXX, see H.M. Orlinsky, *HUCA* 29 (1958), pp. 160–165 (Job); Allen, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 48–50 and the studies of Sollamo mentioned on p. 77.

### Omission

The possessive idea expressed by the Hebrew pronoun is often expressed differently in Greek, sometimes by the article. Often it is not represented formally.

Josh 7:11	MT	(עברו) את בריתי (אשר צויתי)
	LXX	τὴν διαθήκην
Josh 7:14	MT	(ונקרבכם בבקר) לשבטיכם
	LXX	κατὰ φυλάς
Jer 49:22(29:23)	MT	(הנה כנשר יעלה וידאה ויפרש) כנפיו
	LXX	τὰς πτέρυγας

#### 4. Active/passive forms of verbs

Many active verbs were rendered by passive forms, and *vice versa*, and similarly, many transitive verbs were rendered by intransitive ones, and *vice versa*. For a discussion, see Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 144; Margolis, “Studien”, p. 232; C. Rabin, “The Ancient Versions and the Indefinite Subject”, *Textus* 2 (1962), pp. 60–76. On similar changes between active and passive forms in Hebrew manuscripts, see Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, pp. 401–403.

Josh 6:24	MT	וְהָעִיר שָׂרְפוּ בָאֵשׁ
	LXX	ἐνεπρήσθη ἐμπυρισμῷ
Josh 21:9	MT	אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא אֶתְהֶן בְּשֵׁם
	LXX	καὶ ἐπεκλήθησαν
Josh 24:33	MT	וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ (וְאֵלֶזֶר . . .)
	LXX	καὶ ἐτάφη
Isa 39:4	MT	לֹא הָיָה דְבַר אֲשֶׁר לֹא הִרְאִיתִים
	LXX	καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ὃ οὐκ εἶδοσαν (cf. the parallel hemistich)
Isa 43:26	MT	הַזְכִּירֵנִי נִשְׁפֹּטָה יַחַד
	LXX	σὺ δὲ μνησθητι καὶ κριθῶμεν
Isa 49:26	MT	וְהֶאֱכַלְתִּי אֶת מוֹנִיךְ אֶת בָּשָׂר
	LXX	καὶ φάγονται οἱ θλίψαντές σε τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν

#### 5. Prepositions

The use of prepositions in the LXX often depends on the rules of the Greek language, so that in certain syntactical situations translators deviated from equivalents used elsewhere. As a result, in most books of the LXX several prepositions are not represented by fixed equivalents, although some such stereotyped representations are recognized in literal translation units.<sup>13</sup> See especially Johannessohn, *Präpositionen*; Martin, *The Syntax of the Greek of Jeremiah* (see chapter 1, n. 38).

Some examples follow of unusual equivalents whose text-critical value cannot be assessed:

13. For example, ב—ἐν; מן—ἀπό; אל—εἰς, πρὸς; על—ἐπί, etc. Special problems arise with regard to the evaluation of the pairs מ/אל, על/ב, because these prepositions also interchange frequently in ancient Hebrew manuscripts. See especially Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, p. 403; Allen, *Chronicles*, I, pp. 43–45.

Difference		
Jer 49(30):1	MT	הבנים אין ל־ישראל
	LXX	μη υἱοὶ οὐκ εἰσιν ἐν Ἰσραηλ
Jer 49:20(29:21)	MT	(ומחשבותיו) אשר חשב אֵל (ישבי תימן)
	LXX	ἦν ἐβουλεύσατο ἐπὶ . . .
Jer 51(28):24	MT	(ושלמתי . . . את כל רעתם אשר) עשו בִּצְיוֹן
	LXX	ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ Σιών
Jer 51(28):49	MT	לִבְבַל (נפלו חללי כל הארץ)
	LXX	ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
Addition		
Gen 24:10	MT	(ויקח . . . מגמלי אדניו) . . . וכל טוב אדניו בידו
	LXX	(καὶ ἔλαβεν . . . ἀπὸ τῶν καμήλων) . . . καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ
Exod 15:17	MT	(תבאמו ותטעמו) בהר נחלתך מכון לשבתך
	LXX	εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας σου εἰς ἔτοιμον κατοικητήριόν σου

See further Johannessoohn, *Präpositionen*, pp. 344ff.

## 6. The article

The article is used differently in Hebrew and Greek, and as a result, it is often found in one source and not in the other. No rule can be formulated on the relationship between the LXX and MT in this regard, but for a partial discussion, see Ziegler, *Beiträge*, pp. 114ff. ("Der Artikel in der Ier.-LXX") and the literature quoted there. Evaluation of the evidence is complicated by the fact that 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> often added the article against MT, see Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, p. 411.

Addition		
1 Sam 11:9	MT	(מחר תהיה לכם) תשועה (בחם השמש)
	LXX	ἡ σωτηρία
1 Sam 13:5	MT	ופלשתים (נאספו להלחם עם ישראל)
	LXX	καὶ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι (cf. v. 4)

Omission		
1 Sam 13:9	MT	הגשו אלי העלה והשלמים (ויעל) העלה
	LXX	ὀλοκαύτωσιν καὶ εἰρηνικάς . . . τὴν ὀλοκαύτωσιν
2 Sam 16:7	MT	איש הדמים
	LXX	ἀνὴρ αἱμάτων

#### D. Pseudo-Variants

The preceding sections described deviations in the LXX that reflect either variants or non-variants. On the other hand, the deviations to be discussed here reflect a peculiar combination of a variant and a non-variant. They are variants insofar as the deviations can be retroverted relatively easily into Hebrew on the basis of Greek–Hebrew equivalents occurring elsewhere. They are non-variants insofar as the retroverted readings presumably were not found in the translator’s *Vorlage*, but existed only in his *mind*. We therefore suggest calling them “pseudo-variants”.

Because a subtle distinction is made here within the realm of retroverted variants, the methodological background needs to be clarified. On pp. 98–99 it was pointed out that very few retroversions are certain, and that even if a retroversion should be considered reliable, the retroverted variant may not have existed in writing, but only in the mind of a translator. It was then claimed that particularly with regard to errors, it can never be known whether the error was made by the translator or was already present in his *Vorlage*. Nevertheless, such retroversions must be called “variants” because of the lack of suitable controls. One simply has to accept the fact that some reliable retroversions never existed in writing. The present discussion is pertinent to this point, because this section provides examples of retroversions that according to at least some scholars did not exist in writing. The recognition of a pseudo-variant is thus based on a negative decision with regard to the feasibility of its existence in a Hebrew source.

The number of pseudo-variants is probably limited, but it is methodologically important to recognize them as a group separate from other retroverted variants. The recognition of a pseudo-variant is subjective, although some objective criteria are involved.

We distinguish between three types of pseudo-variants:

##### 1. Interchange of similar letters in “difficult” Hebrew words

During all stages of the Hebrew script, a few pairs of letters were graphically similar, especially *waw/yod*, *daleth/resh* and to a lesser extent *kaph/*

*mem/beth*. In certain periods and in the writing of certain scribes, some of these letters were hardly distinguishable.<sup>14</sup> In attempting to distinguish between them when copying their sources, scribes were guided not only by the form of the letters but also by contextual considerations because they usually think about the content of the copied text. In practice this meant that scribes sometimes must have pondered whether the word they were about to copy would make more sense when written, for example, with a *daleth* than with a *resh*. Translators must have acted similarly, as suggested by Barr.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the involvement of translators in palaeographical decisions must have been deeper than that of scribes who copied texts, because they had to determine the meaning of *every* Hebrew word. While these translators were not necessarily experts in palaeography, they must have known from their own experience that certain Hebrew letters were often confused. Thus, a translator who could make no sense of a word when written, let us say, with a *daleth*, would probably have been strongly tempted to render it as if it were written with a *resh*. The assumption of such palaeographical maneuvering is objectively conditioned by the existence of lexical difficulties. These are obvious when a certain Hebrew word occurs rarely in Hebrew Scripture or in an individual book, but they may also be recognized at unexpected places. The strongest case for presumed “evasive” renderings can be made for Hebrew words which have apparently been misread on more than one occasion in a certain translation unit, or which have been misread on one occasion and guessed at on another (cf. the example analyzed on p. 69). The same holds true for isolated occurrences of “evasive” renderings, but the evaluation of these is based more on intuition than solid evidence.

The maneuvering of the translators may be paralleled by the principles that underlie some *midrashim* which, as it were, play with the letters of the words of MT. Often such *midrashim* are based on Hebrew words which were created in this way through maneuvering with the elements of MT. In a sense, these Hebrew words are variants that were created in the minds of the Rabbis and that were denoted in the Rabbinic tradition as *ʾal tiqrê* formulae (see the analysis in Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, p. 55). For a more detailed analysis

14. See E. Qimron, “The Distinction between *waw* and *yod* in the Qumran Scrolls”, *Beth Miqra* 52 (1972), pp. 102–112 (Hebrew); id., *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, GA, 1986), pp. 17–24 and the literature quoted there.

15. J. Barr, “ἐπίζω and ἐπείδω in the Septuagint: A Note Principally on Gen. XLIX 6”, *JSt* 19 (1974), pp. 207–208. Cf. also R. Weiss, “Recensional Variations between the Aramaic Translation of Job from Qumran Cave 11 and the Massoretic Text”, *Shnaton* 1 (1975), p. 127 (Hebrew).

of this practice and for examples, see I.L. Seeligmann, “Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese”, VTSup 1 (1953), pp. 150–181, esp. pp. 159–160; S. Talmon, “Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in the Light of Qumran Manuscripts”, *Textus* 4 (1964), pp. 95–132, esp. pp. 125–132; and the literature quoted there.

In conclusion, although the renderings mentioned below reflect a Hebrew consonantal base that differs from MT, an internal analysis makes it likely that the retroverted variants were not found in the translator’s *Vorlage* and that they probably originated with the translators themselves.

Jer 51(28):58	MT	וַיַּעֲזוּ עַמִּים בְּדִי רִיק וְלְאֻמִּים בְּדִי אֵשׁ וַיַּעֲפּוּ and peoples shall labor in vain, and nations <i>in</i> <i>fire</i> , and they shall weary themselves
	LXX	καὶ οὐ κοπιήσουσι λαοὶ εἰς κενὸν καὶ ἔθνη ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐκλείψουσιν and peoples shall not labor in vain, nor nations fail <i>in rule/at first</i>
	implying:	ברואש

בְּדִי, a compound of דִּי (what suffices) occurs only three or possibly four times in Scripture. Hence its meaning may have been unknown to the translator of this verse. At its first occurrence in the present verse, it was ignored by the LXX which seemingly reflects בְּרִיק, possibly based on haplography: בְּ(דִי)רִיק. At its second occurrence it was read together with the next word as ברואש, created from בְּדִי of MT by two interchanges (*waw/yod* and *daleth/resh* [note the full orthography reminiscent of many Qumran scrolls, on which see p. 82]).

Likewise, the meaning of בְּדִי was unclear to the translator of Hab 2:13, who rendered the same phrase as follows:

Hab 2:13	MT	וַיַּעֲזוּ עַמִּים בְּדִי אֵשׁ וְלְאֻמִּים בְּדִי רִיק וַיַּעֲפּוּ and peoples shall labor <i>in fire</i> , and nations shall weary themselves in vain
	LXX	καὶ ἐξέλιπον λαοὶ ἱκανοὶ ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ ὠλιγοψύχησαν and ready peoples failed <i>in fire</i> and <i>many</i> nations fainted

The first **בדי** was connected wrongly with the preceding word **עמים**; the second occurrence is reflected as **רבים** (πολλά). Furthermore, possibly **ריק** is not represented in the LXX: ὀλιγοψυχέω may express only **יעפו**, cf. Judg 8:4 **עפים**—LXX<sup>A</sup>: ὀλιγοψυχοῦντες.<sup>16</sup>

In our view, neither **בריק** and **ברואש** in Jeremiah nor **רבים** and the “omission” of **ריק** in Habakkuk should be considered variants, even though the retroversion is seemingly reliable. They merely reflect the thought process of the *one* translator who rendered both Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets (see Tov, *Jeremiah*, pp. 135–151). It is relevant to mention here that **מדי**, also derived from **די**, was apparently unknown to this translator: **מדי אדבר** (whenever I speak) in Jer 20:8 reflects a pseudo-variant **מרי(א)דבר** (πικρῶ λόγῳ μου = with my bitter speech). In Jer 48(31):27 the word is lacking in the LXX (also in the Peshitta).

Jer 31(38):12	MT	והיתה נפשם כגן רוה ולא יוסיפו לדאבה עוד and their soul shall be like a watered garden, and they shall <i>languish</i> no more
	LXX	καὶ ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ξύλον ἔγκαρπον καὶ οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι and their soul shall be like a fruitful tree, and they shall <i>hunger</i> no more
	implying:	לרעבה
Jer 31(38):25	MT	כי הרויתי נפש עיפה וכל נפש דאבה מלאתי for I satiated the weary soul and every <i>languishing</i> soul I filled
	LXX	ὅτι ἐμέθυσα πᾶσαν ψυχὴν διψῶσαν καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν πεινῶσαν ἐνέπλησα for I satiated every thirsting soul and every <i>hungry</i> soul I filled
	implying:	רעבה
Bar. 2:18	LXX	καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ ἐκλείποντες καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ πεινώσα <sup>a</sup>

a. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of Baruch was probably based upon Deut 28:65 **וכליון נפש** **עינים ודאבון נפש**. In other details, too, the two verses are closely related.

16. On the other hand, on the basis of Judg 4:21 **וַיַּעַף**—LXX<sup>A</sup> καὶ ἐξέψυξεν, one could surmise that ὀλιγο- in ὀλιγοψυχέω represents **ריק**. For the translation of two Hebrew words with one compound Greek word, see Tov, “Compound Words”.

Forms derived from דאב (to languish) were rendered both in Jeremiah and Bar. 2:18 by πεινάω (to be hungry). The book of Baruch was probably rendered by the same translator as Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets (cf. Tov, *Jeremiah* and p. 16 above), and it is likely that this translator was ignorant of the meaning of דאב which occurs in only four other places in the Bible. While in the two verses in Jeremiah the context may have contributed to the reading of דאב as רעב (cf. also Ps 107:9 וּנִפְשׁ רַעֲבָה), the similarity of the written form of the letters, together with the phonetic resemblance of ʾaleph and ʿayin (cf. p. 151), probably played a more important part in producing these renderings. The rendering of דאב as רעב must have been intentional to some extent, because it is based partly on the understanding that ʾaleph and ʿayin, though graphically dissimilar, are interchangeable phonetically.

Jer 52:21	MT	וְחִזּוּט . . . יִסְכְּנוּ) וְעִבְיוּ אַרְבַּע אֶצְבָּעוֹת נֹבֵב (and a fillet . . . compassed it) and its thickness was four fingers, it was <i>hollow</i>
	LXX	καὶ τὸ πάχος αὐτοῦ δακτύλων τεσσάρων κύκλῳ and its thickness was four fingers <i>all round</i>
		implying: סביב

The root נבב occurs only four times in Scripture. The translator of Jeremiah 52, apparently ignorant of this root, represented נבב as סביב (an interchange of *nun/samekh* and *yod/waw*), probably under the influence of יסכנו in the immediate context. In an isolated rendering such as the present one, the scholar's intuition alone may induce him to describe the deviation as a pseudo-variant.

Jer 10:5	MT	כְּתִמָּר מִקֶּשֶׂה like a <i>palm-tree</i> in a cucumber field
	LXX	ἀργύριον τορευτόν wrought <i>silver</i>
		implying: כְּתִתִּים, cf. Lam 4:1 —ἀργύριον

תִּמָּר occurs elsewhere only in Judg 4:5, but תְּמָר and תְּמָרָה occur several times in Scripture.

Jer 48(31):6	MT	כַּעֲרוֹעַר בַּמִּדְבָּר
		like a <i>juniper</i> (?) in the desert
	LXX	ὥσπερ ὄνος ἄγριος
		like a <i>wild ass</i> in the desert
	implying:	כַּעֲרוֹד

כַּעֲרוֹעַר occurs elsewhere only in Jer 17:6. כַּעֲרוֹד is rare in the Bible, but it occurs frequently in rabbinic Hebrew and in Aramaic.

## 2. Intrinsically improbable readings

Some retroverted variants may appear so improbable that the scholar would want to indicate that the reading has probably never existed in a Hebrew manuscript. Rightly or wrongly, in certain cases more credit is given to Hebrew scribes than to ancient translators. Yet, we should constantly remind ourselves that MT, too, contains readings that are secondary from a linguistic or contextual point of view, and therefore our reasoning is inevitably subjective.

Esth 6:1	MT	בַּלִּילָה הָהוּא נִדְּחָה שְׁנַת הַמֶּלֶךְ
		on that night sleep <i>departed</i> from the king
	LXX	ὁ δὲ κύριος ἀπέστησεν τὸν ὕπνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην
		that night <i>the LORD removed</i> sleep from the king
	implying:	נִדְּחָה ה' / נִדְּחָה ה'

The translator of Esther misrepresented נִדְּחָה as 'נִדְּחָה ה' or 'נִדְּחָה ה',<sup>17</sup> i.e., “the LORD removed sleep” (from the king). He thus took the *he* as an abbreviated tetragrammaton (cf. p. 160), while vocalizing נִדְּחָה as a *pi'el* form (נִדְּחָה occurs in this conjugation only in rabbinic and not in biblical Hebrew). However, it is very relevant to note that the name of God does not occur in the biblical book of Esther, which makes the existence of the variant 'נִדְּחָה ה' very unlikely. The translator may have been influenced by several factors in representing נִדְּחָה by ὁ δὲ κύριος ἀπέστησεν. For one thing, κύριος does occur in the Greek Esther, once in a Greek plus to MT (4:8), and also 24 times in the narrative Expansions to the canonical book of Esther, most of which probably were an integral part of the Greek translation (cf. Tov, *HB*,

17. Thus G.R. Driver, “Problems and Solutions”, *VT* 4 (1954), p. 238.

GB, and Qumran, pp. 292–297). In any event, the retroverted variant נִדְדָּהּ, which differs only slightly from the reading of MT, probably never existed in a Hebrew source.

Neh 10:30	MT	מחזיקים על אחיהם אֲדִיריהם join with their kin, <i>their nobles</i> (NRSV)
	LXX	ἐνίσχυσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν κατηράσαντο αὐτούς they kept to their brethren, <i>they cursed them</i>
	implying: אַרְרִיהֶם	

The rare Hebrew word אֲדִיריהם was probably unknown to the translator of Nehemiah (in 3:5 he transliterated וְאֲדִיריהם—καὶ ἀδωρηεμ).<sup>18</sup> κατηράσαντο reflects a form derived from אַרַר, possibly אַרְרִיהֶם (thus BHS). However, such a word is very improbable here even though ἀρά (אלה) occurs in the same verse.

See further the examples on pp. 84–85, 120–121, 188–197.

### 3. Deviations from MT in the LXX causing further deviations in the translation

Several deviations from MT in the ancient translations (instances of misreading, misunderstanding, inner-translational changes, etc.) entailed additional changes in the translation, some of them seemingly derived from a different basis of letters or vowels.<sup>19</sup> In such cases, however, the translator's *Vorlage* was probably identical with MT and accordingly the translation process may tentatively be described in the following way. Having produced a translation that for some reason differed from MT in an important detail, the translator often realized that the whole verse was disharmonious. By trying out the various palaeographical possibilities and by using his philological understanding of the Hebrew text, he would then attempt to “rescue” the sense of the verse within the options provided by the consonantal framework of his *Vorlage*. In practical terms, this meant that he might be induced to read a certain consonant as a similar-looking one,

18. For the practice of transliterating words which were unknown to the translator, see Tov, “Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament: A New Characteristic of the *kaige*-Th. Revision?”, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, pp. 501–512.

19. Similar processes took place in MT (e.g., Deut 31:1 [see p. 67]), and, as a rule, they can be distinguished from inner-translational changes.

or to base his translation on a certain vocalization or word division which evaded the difficulties. As a last resort, he could also omit a word altogether. With the exception of the latter possibility, these should not be considered deliberate changes of the biblical text, but legitimate maneuverings within the framework of the translator's knowledge.

Where two related differences between MT and the LXX occur, it is often hard to know which one represents the initial deviation and which the secondary change. As a rule, the deviation started with one particular detail rather than two.

Jer 31(38):8	MT	<p>וּקְבָצְתִים מִיִּרְכְּתֵי אֶרֶץ כְּמִ עֵוָר וּפְסַח הָרָה וְיִלְדֵת יַחֲדָר</p> <p>קָהָל גָּדוֹל יִשׁוּבוּ הֵנָּה</p> <p>and I shall gather them from the farthest parts of the earth, among them the blind and the lame, the pregnant woman, and the one in labor, together, a great multitude shall return hither</p>
	LXX	<p>καὶ συνάξω αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς ἐν ἑορτῇ φασεκ καὶ τεκνοποιήσῃ ὄχλον πολὺν καὶ ἀποστρέψουσιν ὧδε</p> <p>and I shall gather them from the farthest part of the earth at the feast of Pesach, and you will give birth to a great multitude, and they shall return hither</p>
	implying:	בְּמוֹעֵד פֶּסַח

The Greek translator had a text in mind that differed completely from MT, ascribing the return of the Jews from the exile to the time of Passover (cf. the Targum to Cant 1:1 alluding to Isa 30:29). The great difference in meaning between MT and the LXX is based on a relatively small difference in letters and vowels (see above). Once the words “among them the blind and the lame” (MT) had been read as “at the feast of Pesach”, the context was completely changed and the translator was impelled, as it were, to conceive of several details in the verse in a way different from MT. In particular, the words “the pregnant woman and the one in labor, together” (הָרָה וְיִלְדֵת יַחֲדָר) did not suit the new context. This caused the translator to introduce a second verb, parallel to the first one, by vocalizing וְיִלְדֵת instead of יִלְדֵת. Furthermore, he represented neither הָרָה nor יַחֲדָר. The upshot of this maneuvering was a rendering καὶ τεκνοποιήσῃ ὄχλον πολὺν (and you will give birth to a great multitude). We might conclude that the translator's *Vorlage*

of the whole phrase was, as it were, **פָּסַח וַיִּלְדֹּת אֶרֶץ בְּמוֹעֵד** וקבצתים מירכתי ארץ בְּמוֹעֵד פָּסַח וַיִּלְדֹּת, קהל גדול וישובר הנה. The existence of that reading and its vocalization must be strongly doubted.

Jer 23:20	MT	עד עשתו ועד הקימו מְזֻמּוֹת לְבוֹ until he has executed and accomplished the intentions of his mind
	LXX	ἕως ἂν ποιήσῃ αὐτὸ καὶ ἕως ἀναστήσῃ αὐτὸ ἀπὸ ἐγχειρήματος καρδίας αὐτοῦ until he has executed <i>it</i> and accomplished <i>it</i> from the intention of his heart
		implying: מְזֻמּוֹת

The translator incorrectly rendered the suffixes of **עשתו** and **הקימו** as objects rather than subjects. This syntactical mistake led him to represent the real object **מְזֻמּוֹ(וֹ)ת** as an adverbial phrase vocalized as **מְזֻמּוֹת**. This understanding is necessarily secondary, as it is based on a mistaken translation of other words in the same verse (cf. also p. 123).

The original status of **מְזֻמּוֹת** is supported by MT in the parallel verse 30:24, which is rendered correctly into Greek: **עד עשתו ועד הקימו מְזֻמּוֹת**—ἕως ποιήσῃ καὶ ἕως καταστήσῃ ἐγχείρημα καρδίας αὐτοῦ.

Jer 6:18	MT	לִכְן שָׁמְעוּ הַגּוֹיִם וַיֵּדְעִי עֲדָה אֶת אֲשֶׁר בָּם therefore hear, O nations, <i>and know</i> , O congregation, what will happen to them
	LXX	διὰ τοῦτο ἤκουσαν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ ποιμαίνοντες τὰ ποίμνια αὐτῶν therefore the nations <i>and the shepherds</i> of their flocks heard
		implying: וַיֵּדְעִי עֲדָה(ם)

The LXX differs completely from MT, yet it reflects a consonantal text very close to it. Of the two differences between MT and the LXX, the change in the verb probably came first. Once the verbal form **וַיֵּדְעִי** (and know!) of MT had been represented as **וַיֵּדְעִי** (and shepherds), **עֲדָה** in MT was adapted to its new context, reflecting as it were **עֲדָה(ם)**, (their) flocks.<sup>20</sup>

20. Although it is not impossible that τὰ ποίμνια reflects an exegetical rendering of **עֲדָה**, such a possibility is not very likely in the LXX of Jeremiah. Exegetical changes of this type are not very frequent in this translation and when they occur, they derive mainly from problems of linguistic identification of words in MT.

Jer 30(37):16	MT	לכן כל אכליך יאָכלוּ וכל צריך כלם בִּשְׂבִי יֵלְכוּ therefore all who devour you shall be devoured, and all your enemies, every one of them, <i>shall go into captivity</i>
	LXX	διὰ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ ἔσθοντές σε βρωθήσονται καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου κρέας αὐτῶν πᾶν ἔδονται therefore all who devour you shall be devoured, and all your enemies <i>shall eat all their own flesh</i> implying: בשר י(א)כלו

MT differs completely from the LXX, because two of its words are represented there by a rendering that reflects two different, though similar-looking Hebrew words. It seems that initially, one of the two words of MT, בִּשְׂבִי יֵלְכוּ, was read differently either by the translator or (less likely) by his *Vorlage*. In the new context, the “captivity” did not fit the “eating”, or alternatively the “flesh” did not fit the “going” and the second word was therefore adapted to suit the new context (for “eating”, see also the first part of the verse). Consequently, the translator either changed “captivity” to “flesh” or “they shall go” to “they shall eat”. See also Isa 3:10 (p. 150).

## EXCURSUS

### ETYMOLOGICAL EXEGESIS

*Electronic tools:* Many cases of etymological exegesis are indicated in CATSS.

In the analysis of different types of variants, special attention must be paid to one group of renderings that do not deviate from MT in the strict sense, yet nevertheless bear on text-critical issues, viz., so-called etymological renderings.

Etymological exegesis is exegesis based on the translator's understanding of the structure of Hebrew words. His etymological understanding may have been different from a modern understanding, but the two perceptions have in common their attempt to represent the significant elements of Hebrew words.<sup>21</sup>

Because of the structure of the Hebrew language, etymological considerations played an important part in the translators' linguistic identifications. See Barr, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 253–255 and id., *OTS* 19 (1974), pp. 1–28, esp. pp. 11–15.

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21. Etymological exegesis is visible behind the identifications of all nominal and verbal forms in the Hebrew *Vorlage* and the choice of many lexical equivalents. Exegesis of the latter type is reflected, *i.a.*, in the consistent representation of Hebrew word-groups (roots) with Greek words also belonging to one Greek word-group (see chapter 1.E.2). Renderings of this kind have been analyzed by U. Rapallo, *Calchi ebraici nelle antiche versioni del "Levitico"*, *Studi Semitici* 39 (Roma, 1971). Cf. also Tov, "Dimensions" and earlier literature mentioned by Rapallo. Etymological exegesis may be based on postbiblical Hebrew (cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 201; J. Blau, "Zum Hebräisch der Übersetzer des Alten Testaments", *VT* 6 [1956], pp. 98–100; see also the studies of J. Joosten mentioned on p. 34), on Aramaic (cf. p. 197), or on Semitic roots, which are not attested in Hebrew. The latter possibility is mentioned only for the sake of comprehensiveness because little positive evidence can be adduced in its favor. When etymological renderings of this type resemble the meaning of an equivalent Arabic root, they are often misleadingly called "Arabisms". For some examples and a discussion, see Frankel, *Vorstudien*, pp. 201–202; G.R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the Old Testament. VII", *JThSt* 35 (1934), pp. 380–393; "Studies in the Vocabulary of the Old Testament. VIII", *ibid.*, 36 (1935), pp. 293–301; D. Winton Thomas, "The Language of the Old Testament, in: H.W. Robinson (ed.), *Record and Revelation* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 374–402; Jellicoe, *SMS*, pp. 325–327; Barr, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 238–245.

When the translators' etymological exegesis reflects an accepted view of a certain Hebrew word, it has no bearing on text-critical problems. By the same token, a rendering that reflects a different understanding of the *same* Hebrew root or a homographic root is not relevant to textual criticism. For example, **חרב**, "to be dry", is often understood in the LXX with another meaning of that root, viz., "to be desolate", e.g., Judg 16:7; 2 Kgs 19:24; Isa 37:25; 51:10; Jer 51(28):36.

On the other hand, "unusual" etymological exegesis has some importance for text-critical problems (note, e.g., that the first apparatus in the *HUB* includes references to the translators' etymological derivations and *BHQ* likewise often refers to such exegesis). This applies especially to renderings in which the etymological exegesis of the LXX reflects a root different from the one we consider to be at the base of the Hebrew word of MT. Nevertheless, etymological exegesis is *actually irrelevant* for textual criticism, for in the cases described below, no different *Vorlage* must be presupposed. Rather, the word was *interpreted* in a particular way, as was recognized, *i.a.*, by Schuurmans Stekhoven, *Dodekapropheton*, pp. 100, 118 in a valuable analysis. Etymological exegesis seemingly reflects a vocalization pattern differing from that embedded in MT (cf. chapter 4), but when reconstructing the thought pattern of the translator, it would be more precise to say that such exegesis disregards the vocalization altogether.

The following examples of "unusual" etymological exegesis seemingly have some text-critical implications, yet we believe that they do not reflect actual Hebrew variants, but, for the most part, conjectural renderings of Hebrew words that may have caused lexical difficulties because of their infrequent occurrence, and in some cases their being *hapax legomena*:

Judg 5:16	MT	בין המשפתיים
		between the fire-places (?)
(5:15)	LXX <sup>A</sup>	ἐν μέσῳ χειλέων <sup>a</sup>
		between lips

a. The translation is found in a translation doublet in MS A in v. 15 relating to v. 16 of MT: cf. E. Tov, "The Textual History of the Song of Deborah in the A Text of the LXX", in: id., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, p. 530.

The translator of Judges derived **משפתיים** from **שפה**—lip (the equivalence **שפה**—**χείλος** occurs frequently elsewhere in the LXX; cf. Hab 3:16 [p. 197]). The Hebrew word (BDB: fire-places?) occurs elsewhere only in Gen 49:14. For the interchange **ש**/**שׁ**, cf. pp. 122–123.

1 Kgs 5:3 (4:23)	MT	וברברים אבוסים and fattened geese
	LXX	. . . καὶ ὀρνίθων ἐκλεκτῶν, σιτευτά and choice birds, fattened

ברבר (goose?), a *hapax legomenon*, is derived here from the root ברר (cf. בר(ר)—ἐκλέγω, ἐκλεκτός elsewhere in the LXX). Cf. also the equivalent בראים—ἐκλεκτοί earlier in the verse.

Isa 37:29	MT	ושאנך and your arrogance
	LXX	καὶ ἡ πικρία σου and your bitterness

The word שאנך (NRSV: arrogance) occurs five times in the Bible. The translator derived this word from שן (to be sharp), disregarding the *ʾaleph* as if it were a quiescent *ʾaleph* (cf. p. 154).<sup>22</sup> Cf. also the following, related example:

Jer 46:27	MT	ושקט ושאנן ואין מחריד <and Jacob again> shall have calm and quiet, with none to trouble him (NJPS)
(26:27)	LXX	καὶ ἡσυχάσει καὶ ὑπνώσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ παρενοχλῶν αὐτόν and he will be at ease and sleep, and there shall be no one to trouble him

The translation is probably based on an assumed connection between ושאנן (ישאנן ?) and the root ישן, “to sleep”.

2 Chr 3:10	MT	ויעש . . . כרובים שנים) מעשה צעצעים (he made two) carved (cherubim) (NRSV)
	LXX	ἔργον ἐκ ξύλων a work . . . out of wood (NETS)

צעצעים (HALOT: casting, cast), which occurs nowhere else in the Bible, was derived here from עץ (wood), which is contextually possible.

22. Elsewhere שן is not rendered with πικρ-, but is represented by similar roots, such as ὀξύ-

In the examples that follow, the etymological exegesis is based on the similarity of Hebrew forms belonging to the weak patterns (see below). In all these cases, no variants need be assumed (see also below, n. 25), as was shown in detail by E. Tov, “Biliteral Exegesis of Hebrew Roots in the Septuagint?” in id., *HB, GB, and Qumran*, pp. 378–397; D. Weissert, “Alexandrian Analogical Word-Analysis and Septuagint Translation Techniques—A Case Study of חלל—חיל—חול”, *Textus* 8 (1974), pp. 31–44. See further Prijs, *Tradition*, p. 83, n. 3; Ch. Heller, *Untersuchungen über die Peschitta zur gesamten hebräischen Bibel I* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 45–47 (with much information on the LXX).

The main source of lexical information for the translators was their living knowledge of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, which allowed them to determine the semantic content of words in their *Vorlagen*. However, before that information could be utilized, the translators had to analyze the morphological nature of the word being translated in order to determine, for example, whether it was a noun or a verb. If it was a verb, we wonder whether the translator took further steps in his analysis. In accordance with the grammatical concepts that developed from medieval times onwards, the translators may have had to determine the root of the verb, as well as its conjugation (*binyan*), aspect, and tense. Although most semantic identifications of verbs by the LXX translators are “correct,” and most of them refer to triliteral Hebrew verbs, it does not necessarily follow that the translators followed a system of triliteral roots. The evidence merely shows that the translators were able to draw on various sources, enabling them to obtain the necessary semantic information. Triliteral verbs usually formed the basis for these identifications; for most of them (e.g. שמר, עבר), all three letters were necessary for the identification, while in some cases two letters sufficed.

In the weak verbs (patterns פ"א, פ"י, פ"נ, ע"א, ע"ע, ע"ו, ע"ל, א"ל, א"י), often only two radicals were needed for semantic identification. Thus for the rendering of עשיתם, the translator merely needed to identify the radicals עש as relating to עשה, since the roots \*עשא, \*עוש, \*יעש, \*עשש, etc. do not exist and other options are therefore irrelevant. This is not a problematic case, nor are the translations of forms of סבב, since \*יסב, \*אסב, \*סוב, \*נסב, \*סבה are not evidenced. These forms could be identified on the basis of the letters סב without taking a third radical into consideration. However, other instances are more complex since the opposition between verbs ל"א and ל"י, such as in the case of קנא (“to envy”) and קנה (“to acquire”), necessitates either the examination of the third radical or reliance on the context. For an inappropriate choice in the קנ group, see below.

This description implies that the translators could make a shortcut by relying on merely two of the root letters. At the same time, it is not easy to substantiate this assumption for the LXX since the semantic information of most Hebrew verbs is correctly identified, and one needs to make a strong case proving that the translation of certain verbal forms was based on only two letters. Nevertheless, there are such instances, since mistaken renderings suggest that in some cases *two* letters sufficed for the semantic identification of verbal forms. We take our clue from assumed shortcuts by the translators in the identification process. For some verbs, a cluster of two letters sufficed for identification, but if that abbreviated cluster was the key for two *different* verbs, mishaps could occur, as, for example, in the case of רָא pointing to both the ל"ו verb רָאָה ("to see") and the פ"ו verb יָרָא ("to fear"). In any event, the translators' biliteral renderings should be seen in the light of an internal analysis of the LXX, but Hebrew variations in MT and the Qumran scrolls, developments in rabbinic Hebrew, and medieval Jewish grammatical theories should be taken into consideration as well.<sup>23</sup> Weis-  
sert (p. 191) appropriately named exegesis of this type "word-analysis", not related to bi-lateral root exegesis, and according to him this word-analysis has its roots in Alexandrian grammatical theories.

Jer 23:31	MT	הַנְּנִי עַל הַנְּבִיאִים . . . (הִנְנִי עַל הַנְּבִיאִים) (Behold, I am against the prophets . . .), who use their tongues and <i>deliver a speech</i> (RSV)
	LXX <sup>88</sup> L' La-w	τοὺς ἐκλαμβάνοντας (LXX <sup>rel</sup> ἐκβάλλοντας)
	(= Ziegler, <i>Ieremias</i> )	προφητείας γλώσσης καὶ νυστάζοντας νυσταγμὸν αὐτῶν . . . who put forth prophecies of (their) tongue and slumber their sleep

The translator derived וַיִּנְאֲמוּ נֹאם (and they uttered an utterance) from נֹאם (to slumber), by explaining MT as if the text read וַיִּנְוְמוּ נֹאם.<sup>24</sup> The determinative cluster was נֹאם. This exegesis can be paralleled by the orthography of נֹאם/נֹאם/נֹאם for נֹאם frequently occurring in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, pp. 498–500).

23. For an analysis and bibliography, see G.J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen erläutert an den Wurzeln GL KL ʔL*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge 3 (Bonn, 1952), pp. 11–30; S. Moscati (ed.), *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, Phonology and Morphology* (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 72–75. See further Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 30 f–o.

24. The remark in BHS on the LXX "וַיִּנְוְמוּ נֹאם" is therefore misleading.

Deut 4:34	MT	ובמוראים
	LXX	καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν (cf. V, T <sup>OJ</sup> )
Deut 26:8	MT	ובמךא
	LXX	καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν (cf. T <sup>OJ</sup> )
Jer 32(39):21	MT	ובמורא
	LXX	καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν

In these verses the translators associated מורא with the cluster רא, which they linked with ראה rather than ירא (contrast, e.g., the equivalents יראה—τρόμος, φόβος occurring elsewhere).

At the same time, it is hard to define a boundary between the etymological procedure described above, which does not involve the possibility of a variant reading, and the assumption of a variant reading as may be suggested by the reading ובמראים of the Sam. Pent. in Deut 4:34 and ובמראה in the same text in Deut 26:8.<sup>25</sup> Similar doubts arise elsewhere.<sup>26</sup>

The confusion between the two roots is also visible in the occasional translation of נורא as ἐπιφανής:

Hab 1:7	אֵיםִי וְנֹרָא הוּא
	( <sup>6</sup> τὸ ἔθνος τὸ πικρὸν . . . τὸ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς γῆς τοῦ κατακληρονομήσαι σκηνώματα οὐκ αὐτοῦ) φοβερός καὶ ἐπιφανής ἐστιν

Within Habakkuk's harsh description of the enemy in 1:5–10 (11?), the Chaldeans are described in the LXX of v. 7 as φοβερός καὶ ἐπιφανής. In this context it is understandable that the Chaldean people should be called

25. Note that in the Passover Haggadah, מְאָא גִדֵּל (Deut 26:8) is explained as the “revelation of God's presence”, probably on the basis of מראה (brought to my attention by A. Rofé).

26. φωτίζω (to give light), etymologically a good rendering of האיר (cf. אור—φῶς *passim*), has also been used to render הורה in 2 Kgs 12:3 and 17:28, both in sections ascribed to *kaige*-Th, and often in Aquila (cf. M. Smith, “Another Criterion for the *kaige* Recension”, *Bibl* 48 [1967], pp. 443–445). Not in all verses does etymological exegesis appear to be the only possible explanation, for 4QTest, l. 17 (published by J.M. Allegro, *DJD* V [Oxford, 1968], pp. 57–60) actually reads ויאירו in Deut 33:10 for MT (משפטיך) יורו (cf. also 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup>, l. 5 כמשפט מאירים). On this reading, see P.W. Skehan, “The Period of the Biblical Texts from Khirbet Qumrân”, *CBQ* 19 (1957), p. 436.

φοβερός (frightening, terrible), but what does the next word, ἐπιφανής, mean in this context? Are the people “conspicuous”, “evident”, or “famous”? Or should we rather take ἐπιφανής as the opposite of its main meaning, that is, “infamous”? However, the solution to this question lies in a different area. Against the sense of the passage, the translator derived נורא from ראה, and somehow adapted the rendering to the context.

See further Joel 2:11 and 1 Chr 17:21.

Isa 11:11	MT	יוסיף אדני שנית ידר לקנות את שאר עמו
		The LORD will extend his hand yet a second time <i>to redeem</i> the remnant of his people.
	LXX	προσθήσει κύριος τοῦ δεῖξαι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζηλώσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ
		The LORD will again extend his hand <i>to be zealous</i> for the remnant that remains of the people.

The translator derived לקנות (to acquire) from קנא (to be zealous) rather than from קנה (cf. v. 13 יקנא—ζηλώσει). The determinative cluster was קנ. For the close connection between the two roots, see the artistic use in Ezek 8:3 סמל הקנאה המקנה (on which see Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 75 qq).

Exod 27:21 and <i>passim</i>	MT	אהל מועד
		the tent of meeting
	LXX	ἡ σκῆνη τοῦ μαρτυρίου
		the tent of testimony

The frequent translation of מועד (אהל) on the basis of עֵד (witness) as (ἡ σκῆνη) τοῦ μαρτυρίου almost presumes a form of popular etymology based on the cluster of the last two letters of מועד. The situation is, however, somewhat more complicated since both יעד and עוד are used in connection with the phrase “the tent of meeting”. For the latter, see also the phrase אהל עדות in Exod 30:36 (see further Num 9:15, 17:22, 18:2):

Exod 30:36	MT	ונתתה ממנה לפני הַעֲדָת באהל מועד and you shall put part of it before the testimony in the tent of meeting
	LXX	καὶ θήσεις ἀπέναντι τῶν μαρτυρίων ἐν τῇ σκηנῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου and you shall put it before the testimonies in the tent of testimony

From the continuation of this verse, אשר אועד לך שמה (where I shall meet with you)—ὅθεν γνωσθήσομαί σοι ἐκεῖθεν (whence I shall make myself known to you [this rendering reflects, as it were, אודע]), as well as from other verses, one gets the impression that יעד/ועד was often unknown to the translators.

Jer 3:6, 8, 12; Hos 11:7; 14:5 MT: מַשְׁכָּן(ו)בה—κατοικία.

This rendering of the LXX is based on ישב (to sit) rather than שכב (to apostatize). Contrast the translations in Jer 5:6; 8:5: ἀποστροφή (turning back) and Jer 2:19 ἀποστασία (rebellion). The determinative cluster was שב.

While most of the etymologizing derivations follow the rules of the Hebrew language, some disregard suffixes, prefixes or letters of the root. Such renderings do not reflect different *Vorlagen*, but rather they imply that the translator dealt freely with the components of the Hebrew. For a similar analysis of midrashic exegesis, see Prijs, *Tradition*, pp. 35ff. Seeligmann, “Voraussetzungen” (see p. 180) uses the term “Spielelement”.

Judg 3:23	MT	וַיֵּצֵא אֶהוּד הַמַּסְדְּרוֹנָה and Ehud left towards the מַסְדְּרוֹן
	LXX <sup>B</sup>	καὶ ἐξῆλθεν τοὺς διατεταγμένους and he removed (?) the arranged soldiers ?

The *hapax* מַסְדְּרוֹן (BDB: colonnade?) is rendered as if it were מַסְדְּרִים(ה) (those who are arranged). Cf. שְׂדֵרָה—διάταξις in 1 Kgs 6:9 (MSS A. . .) and סְדִירָה—τεταγμένη in Sir. 10:1. This understanding required the translator to conceive of וַיֵּצֵא and ἐξῆλθεν as transitive verbs (not evidenced in Greek, according to LSJ). In the word evidenced in MT the translator thus identified a word cluster consisting of the letters סדר, while disregarding the exact form of the word.

Gen 49:17	MT	יהי דן נחש עלי דרך) שפיפן עלי ארח (Dan shall be a serpent in the way), a <i>viper</i> by the path
	LXX	ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τριβου <i>lying in ambush</i> by the path

The *hapax legomenon* שפיפן is derived here from the root שפף, contextually rendered as ἐγκαθήμενος (“lying in ambush”; cf. the similar rendering of Gen 3:15 ישופך—τηρήσει).

2 Chr 35:13	MT	בשל בסיירות ובדודים ובצלחות they boiled in pots, in cauldrons and in <i>pans</i>
	LXX	ἤψησαν ἐν τοῖς χαλκείοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς λέβησιν. καὶ εὐδώθη they boiled in the copper vessels and in the pots, <i>and it succeeded</i>

צלחה (pan) of MT is a *hapax legomenon*, while the related צלחת occurs three times in Scripture and צלחית once. The word was probably unknown to the translator, who derived it from the verb צלח (to succeed), disregarding both the internal division of the verse and the prefix and suffix of the word (cf. Allen, *Chronicles*, I, p. 61). The translation, which does not suit the context, was based on a cluster of letters in which the translator recognized the meaning “to succeed” without entering into details regarding the precise form of the word.

The etymological exegesis of the translators is often based on *Aramaic* rather than Hebrew.<sup>27</sup> In these cases one need not retrovert the Greek into

27. On the Aramaic background of some renderings in the LXX, see J.G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, I (4th ed.; Göttingen, 1823), pp. 469ff.; Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 201; A. Scholz, *Der masorethische Text und die LXX. Übersetzung des Buches Jeremias* (Regensburg, 1875), pp. 13–14; Vollers, *Dodekapropheton*, pp. 8–10; E. Nestle, *Septuaginta-Studien*, VI (Stuttgart, 1911), pp. 14–15; M. Flashar, “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter”, *ZAW* 32 (1912), p. 251; Kaminka, *Studien*, pp. 38–42; Fischer, *Isaias*, p. 9; Seeligmann, *Isaiah 1948*, pp. 49–50; id., *Isaiah* 2004, p. 67 (with much literature); Schreiner, *Richter*, pp. 109–111. For the general background, see V.A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, I (Cambridge, MA, 1957), p. 30; M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3rd ed.; Oxford, 1967); A. Pelletier, “La nomenclature du calendrier juif à l’époque hellénistique”, *RB* 82 (1975), pp. 218–233. See also the studies of J. Joosten mentioned on p. 34.

a variant because the retroverted Aramaic word actually supports the consonantal text of MT although a different vocalization is implied (see p. 86).

2 Sam 2:26 (and <i>passim</i> )	MT	הִלְנָצַח (תֹּאכַל חֶרֶב) (shall the sword devour) for ever?
	LXX	μὴ εἰς νίκος (καταφάγεται ἡ ῥομφαία) (shall the sword devour) to the victory?

The translator derived לִנְצַח (for ever) from the Aramaic נִצַּח (to be victorious). νίκος means here, as elsewhere, “victory”, as claimed by G.B. Caird, *JThSt* 20 (1969), p. 24, *pace* R.A. Kraft, *SBLSCS* 1 (1972), pp. 153–156.

Hab 3:16	MT	לְקוֹל צִלְלוֹ שִׁפְתִּי My lips <i>quiver</i> at the sound (NRSV)
	LXX	ἀπὸ φωνῆς προσευχῆς χειλέων μου from the sound of the <i>prayer</i> of my lips

צִלְלוֹ (BDB: to quiver) was derived here from the Aramaic verb צִלִּי (to pray). The second *lamed* was disregarded.

Pss 60(59):10; 108(107):10	MT	מֹאֵב סִיר רְחֻצִּי Moab is my <i>washbasin</i>
	LXX	Μωαβ λέβης τῆς ἐλπίδος μου Moab is the basin of my <i>hope</i>

רְחֻצִּי is derived from the Aramaic רְחַץ (to trust). This rendering completely changed the meaning of the verse.

Ps 141(140):5	MT	כִּי עוֹד וּתְפִלַּתִּי בְּרַעְיוֹתֵיהֶם for my prayer is continually against their <i>wicked deeds</i> (NRSV)
	LXX	ὅτι ἔτι καὶ ἡ προσευχή μου ἐν ταῖς εὐδοκίαις αὐτῶν for yet also my prayer shall be in their <i>wishes</i>

בְּרַעְיוֹתֵיהֶם of MT is derived here from רְעִי (תָּא) (wish).  
See further Judg 5:30 (p. 120).



## PART II

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# *The Nature and Evaluation of the Hebrew Text Underlying the LXX*



## CHAPTER 6

### THE NATURE OF THE HEBREW TEXT UNDERLYING THE LXX

Although the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX cannot be reconstructed as a whole, many of its details can be, and hence much can be learned about this Hebrew text. Its nature differs from book to book, in part due to coincidence relating to the character of the Hebrew scrolls from which the translation was made, and in part because the translations were made at different times, and in different places, reflecting various stages of the development of the Hebrew Bible.

In modern research, three aspects of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX have been discussed:

1. The geographical provenance of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX.
2. The relationship between the Hebrew text underlying the LXX and the Hebrew witnesses of the biblical text.
3. Characteristic features of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX.

These aspects are discussed in the following paragraphs although the amount of information about the nature of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX and its relationship to the other witnesses of the biblical text is rather limited.

For an analysis of the broader topic, that of the relationship between *all* the textual witnesses of the Bible, the reader is referred to Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 155–161.

#### A. The geographical provenance of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX

The translation of the Torah was made in Egypt, as related by the Epistle of Aristeeas and subsequent sources.<sup>1</sup> The legend about the translation in Egypt by 72 (70) men initially pertained only to the Torah, but was

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1. The evidence was collected by P. Wendland, *Aristeeas ad Philocratem epistula cum ceteris de origine versionis LXX interpretum testimoniis* (Leipzig, 1900).

subsequently extended to include the other books of the Bible,<sup>2</sup> on which see below.

Scholars often discussed the ancient tradition according to which the LXX translation of the Torah originated in Egypt. On the linguistic level, this assumption can be verified by the existence of Egyptian elements in the various books of the LXX.<sup>3</sup>

The place of origin of the post-Pentateuchal books is less certain. The Alexandrian background of these books is presupposed by many, if not most scholars, but this assumption is unlikely. As the full analysis is developed elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> the arguments in favor of an Egyptian and Palestinian background are provided here briefly, first in favor of an Egyptian background:

- A. Analogy to the story about the Egyptian translation of the Torah, although that translation itself was probably produced by imported Palestinian experts.
- B. “Alexandrian” characteristics of the translation, such as its Egyptian–Greek language and its connections with the Egyptian demotic language.

The assumption of an Alexandrian background of the translation is so strong that one often speaks about the “Alexandrian version”. Furthermore, not only has the Greek version been dubbed “Alexandrian”, but its Hebrew/Aramaic *Vorlage* has been likewise so named.<sup>5</sup>

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2. For an expanded version of the story, see especially Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, §§ 3, 6.

3. Several examples of a possible Egyptian background of words in the LXX-Torah have been provided, but not all are relevant, since they refer to books other than the Torah. Cf. especially S. Morenz, “Ägyptische Spuren in der Septuaginta”, *Mullus, Festschrift T. Klauser = JbAC, Ergänzungsband I* (1964), pp. 250–258. See further Thackeray, *Grammar*, index; Swete, *Introduction*, p. 21; G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint, II. Chronicles*, LUÅ NF I, 43, 3 (Lund, 1946), pp. 14–21; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 175–212; J. Schwarz, “Notes sur l’archéologie des LXX”, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 8 (1951), pp. 195–198. The evidence was collected for the first time by H. Hodus, *De biblicorum textibus originalibus, versionibus graecis, latina Vulgata* (Oxford, 1705), book II, ch. IV.

4. E. Tov, “Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations”, in: W. Kraus and M. Karrer (eds.), *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse: 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D)*, Wuppertal 23.–27.7 2008, WUNT 252 (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 3–22.

5. Thus, e.g., de Lagarde, *Proverbien*, 2; Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 1–28 (“The Alexandrian Greek version”); H.St.J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins*, The Schweich Lectures 1920 (London, 1921), p. 13 (“Alexandrian

The following questions should be raised regarding the assumption that the post-Pentateuchal translations of the Greek books were Alexandrian.

A. Are any unmistakable Alexandrian features in realia, vocabulary, or ideas reflected in the post-Pentateuchal books? In my view, there is very little evidence. At least in the case of the Egyptian–Greek language and the possible connections with the Egyptian Demotic language no convincing proofs have been provided.

B. If, as in the Epistle of Aristeas, the Torah translators came from Jerusalem, why would the post-Pentateuchal books have been translated by Alexandrians? In other words, if Alexandria did not produce scholars who were able to translate the Torah, why would such translators be found for the later books?

There are no clear answers to these questions. The default assumption for the post-Pentateuchal books should be that they were produced in Palestine, and not in Alexandria or any other part of the Jewish Diaspora. We first list the books of a probable or possible *Palestinian* origin, in order of decreasing probability.

1. The manuscripts of the Greek Esther contain a colophon<sup>6</sup> at the end that states that “it was translated by Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemaius, of the people in Jerusalem (τῶν ἐν Ἰερουσαλημ)”. Most scholars consider this colophon as pointing to a Palestinian origin.
2. The “LXX” of Ecclesiastes was probably translated in Palestine by either Aquila or *kaige*-Th.
3. Sections of the “LXX” of Samuel–Kings (see p. 17), ascribed in modern research to *kaige*-Th (2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:1 and 1 Kgs 22:1–2 Kgs 24:15), were translated in Palestine as were also the “LXX” versions of Canticles, Lamentations, and Ruth.

Negative arguments relating to the assumption of an Egyptian origin are also relevant: The translation could not have been produced by local Egyptians, among whom the knowledge of Hebrew no longer existed.

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Bible”) and *passim*. Some of the references to Alexandria and Egypt were probably made inadvertently, such as the name of the following book: H.-J. Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*, OBO 136 (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1994).

6. Cf. E. Bickerman, “The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther”, *JBL* 63 (1944), pp. 339–62 = *id.*, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History, Part One*, AGJU IX (Leiden, 1976), pp. 225–45; R. Marcus, “Dositheus, Priest and Levite”, *JBL* 64 (1945), pp. 269–71.

Further, the move from the translation of the Torah to that of the post-Pentateuchal books was not necessarily a natural step in Alexandria since the later books did not have the same authority as the Torah. For example, in 50 B.C.E., Philo quoted mainly from the Torah and much less so from the post-Pentateuchal books.

There seems to be little evidence for the production of post-Pentateuchal translations in *Egypt*, in order of decreasing probability:

1. The grandson of Ben Sira asserts that coming from Jerusalem to Egypt he translated there his grandfather's book on behalf of those "living abroad" (Preface, 28, 34).
2. An Egyptian background of Isaiah has been suggested in detailed vocabulary studies by Ziegler, Seeligmann, and Troxel,<sup>7</sup> involving evidence from Egyptian papyri (see especially Ziegler's analysis of the jewels in chapter 3).
3. Similar suggestions have been made for Proverbs, Chronicles, the Minor Prophets, 2–3 Maccabees, and additional books.

Summarizing this analysis, it seems that a better case can be made for a Palestinian than for an Egyptian background of most post-Pentateuchal books.

Thinking along modern thought patterns, one wonders whether there was any cooperation between the two centers. In those days a bi-national cooperation enterprise seems unlikely, so we are left with the assumption that the translation enterprise was either mainly Palestinian or mainly Egyptian. The people involved were either Jewish sages residing in Palestine or learned men who traveled from Palestine to Egypt for this express purpose. These two options are not mutually exclusive, as the post-Pentateuchal translations may have been produced at different places.

Despite these doubts, the assumption of an Egyptian origin for the *Vorlage* of the LXX has been often mentioned in recent research (see n. 5). The theory of "local texts (or textual families)" exemplifies such an equation. This theory, which in recent years originated with W.F. Albright<sup>8</sup> and was

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7. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 175–212; Seeligmann, *Isaiah* 1948, pp. 70–91; R.L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, JSJSup 124 (Leiden, 2007), pp. 1–72.

8. "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible", *BASOR* 140 (1955), pp. 27–33. Before Albright, a similar view was suggested by H.M. Wiener, "The Pentateuchal Text—A Reply to Dr. Skinner", *BSac* 71 (1914), pp. 221ff. (probably not known to Albright). See also A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Breslau, 1857), p. 98.

developed by F.M. Cross, Jr.,<sup>9</sup> characterizes the Hebrew text underlying the LXX as Egyptian, the Sam. Pent. as Palestinian, and MT as Babylonian. This distinction between three local texts is based mainly on analogy with the textual transmission of other texts (especially the LXX and the New Testament) and on some internal evidence.

The characterization of the *Vorlage* of the LXX as “Egyptian” in this theory rests on rather weak grounds. As examples of “pre-Septuagintal Egyptian influence on the text of several books” of the LXX, Albright (*ibid.*, p. 30) cites the transliteration of the Egyptian name of Joseph in the LXX which, according to him, reflects the late Egyptian equivalent of an earlier name (Ψονθομφανηχ [Gen 41:45]); Γεσεμ Ἀραβίας for גשן (Gen 45:10; 46:34); ἡ χώρα τῶν χαλδαίων (Gen 11:31), reflecting ארץ הכשדים for MT אור כשדים; and Θεκεμνα for תחפניס (1 Kgs 11:19ff.), which he called “the Female Attendant of Min”. This evidence hardly supports the assumption of an Egyptian Hebrew text for all of the Greek Bible.<sup>10</sup>

Cross accepted Albright’s characterization of the *Vorlage* as an Egyptian local text without offering new arguments in its favor:

The Old Greek translation of the Pentateuch and Samuel transmits a Hebrew textual tradition at home in Egypt, and ultimately a branch of the Old Palestinian text of the fifth or at latest fourth century (Cross, “Evolution”, p. 312)

9. Cross, “Biblical Text”; *id.*, “The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text”, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 81–95; *id.*, “Evolution”. Cross’ theories have been developed by R.W. Klein, *Studies in the Greek Texts of the Chronicler*, PhD diss., Harvard Univ. (Cambridge, MA, 1966); J.D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*, HSM 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1968); J.D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect*, HSM 2 (Cambridge, MA, 1968); K.G. O’Connell, *The Theodotianic Revision of the Book of Exodus*, HSM 3 (Cambridge, MA, 1972); Janzen, *Jeremiah*; Klein, *Textual Criticism*; J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, HSM 14 (Missoula, MT, 1977), pp. 116ff.; Ulrich, *Samuel*; W. Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, HSM 23 (Chico, CA, 1980). See further D.W. Gooding, “A Recent Popularisation of Professor F.M. Cross’ Theories on the Text of the Old Testament”, *TynBul* 26 (1975), pp. 113–132 (review of Klein). Further references are found apud P.C. McGlasson, *The Local Texts Theory of Old Testament Textual Criticism*, B.A. Honors Thesis, University of Georgia, 1978.

10. The relevance and accuracy of the argument pertaining to the Egyptian queen, Θεκεμνα, was questioned by D. Barthélemy in *SBLSCS* 2 (1972), pp. 56ff. (on which, see Cross, “Evolution”, pp. 316–317) and by *id.*, *Études*, pp. 238–241, 290–292. The validity of Albright’s arguments has been undermined strongly by H. Mantel, “Was There an Egyptian Version of the Bible?”, *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies . . . 1969* (Jerusalem, 1973 [Hebrew]), pp. 183–197.

On Jeremiah, Cross writes:

The evidence drawn from an analysis of these variant textual traditions of Jeremiah appears to be most satisfactorily and parsimoniously comprehended by a theory of local texts, distinguishing the short text of Jeremiah [= LXX] as Egyptian in origin and attributing 4QJer<sup>b</sup> or its archetype to the Jewish community in Egypt which persisted through the Persian and Hellenistic ages (*ibid.*, p. 309).

In an earlier formulation of this theory, Cross writes:

In Isaiah, or in certain of the later books, where the Egyptian tradition is virtually identical with the Palestinian, we are led to conclude that the Hebrew text underlying the Old Greek separated from the Palestinian quite late, or indeed that a Palestinian Hebrew manuscript was used for the Greek translation (*IEJ* 16 [1966], pp. 87–88).

A word of evaluation is in order regarding that part of the theory of local texts that bears on the *Vorlage* of the LXX. Except for the arguments adduced by Albright, no proof has been offered in favor of the assumption that the Hebrew parent text of the LXX is somehow connected with Egypt. In fact, the opposite is true for the post-Pentateuchal books, as argued above.

B. The relationship between the Hebrew text underlying the LXX and ancient Hebrew witnesses of the biblical text

The discussion in this section is limited to the relationship between the LXX and the only known ancient Hebrew witnesses of the biblical text, viz., the Qumran scrolls and the Sam. Pent. There is little positive evidence for assuming a close relationship between the LXX and the other translations (or Hebrew manuscripts), except for translations that depend on the LXX, as Jerome's Vulgate frequently did. The close relationship between the LXX and the Peshitta often resulted from common exegetical traditions,<sup>11</sup> and, by definition, these common traditions have no bearing on the issue of the Hebrew text presupposed by the versions.

11. For a discussion of the nature of these common exegetical elements, see Y. Maori, *The Peshitta Version of the Pentateuch and Early Jewish Exegesis* (Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 317–318 (Hebrew); J.A. Lund, *The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta: A Re-evaluation of Criteria in Light of Comparative Study of the Versions in Genesis and Psalms*, PhD diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1988, both with earlier literature. For a subsequent synthesis, see my study "The Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin Translations of Hebrew Scripture vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text", in: M. Loubet and D. Pralon (eds.), *Eukarpa, Εὐκάρπα: Études sur la Bible et ses exégètes, réunies par Mireille Loubet et Didier Pralon en hommage à Gilles Dorival* (Paris, 2011), pp. 173–185.

In several individual instances the LXX represents a text that comes close to other sources, viz., certain Hebrew scrolls from Qumran and the Sam. Pent.

### 1. Hebrew scrolls from Qumran

The discovery in the Qumran Hebrew scrolls of single readings and fragments that are close to the LXX was an unexpected phenomenon that would be of major importance for several aspects of the text-critical analysis of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles. The idea that we would ever get close to the Hebrew texts from which the Greek translation was rendered had never entered anyone's mind. Had scholars been asked where to look for such scrolls, they would have been divided between ancient Israel and Egypt.

The relationship between the LXX and the Hebrew scrolls found in Qumran differs from scroll to scroll, and therefore generalizations cannot be made.

The evaluation of the relationship between the LXX and a particular scroll is complicated by the following factors:

1. It is often difficult to know whether a reading of the LXX that differs from MT should be reconstructed as a deviating Hebrew reading or should be regarded as the translator's exegesis (cf. chapter 2). In the latter case the item should be disregarded. Exegesis common to the LXX and a particular scroll is of interest, especially when occurring frequently, but it does not pertain to textual data. This caution applies particularly to deviations in the area of grammar, in which the analysis of translation technique does not allow for satisfactory decisions.<sup>12</sup>
2. It is often difficult to assess the extent of the agreement between the LXX and a particular scroll. It is therefore in order to subdivide agreements into more significant and less significant ones.
3. The analysis centers on readings in which the LXX and a particular scroll agree against MT. Within the web of the relations between the textual witnesses we may either confine our attention to exclusive agreements between the LXX and a scroll, or we may include cases in which the LXX is joined by another ancient version, such as S or a Targum.
4. In the historical books, the relation between a scroll and the LXX must be analyzed separately for the majority tradition of the LXX and for LXX<sup>Luc</sup>.

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12. For some examples, see the discussion below on the Sam. Pent. and above chapter 5.C.

5. When comparing the Qumran scrolls with the LXX and MT as well as other sources, both agreements and disagreements need to be taken into consideration.
6. In the analysis of the relationship between the LXX and a scroll, the textual character of all the witnesses has to be taken into consideration. For example, if there is little textual variation between the various witnesses in a given book, as between the LXX and MT in Isaiah, both sources may relate in the same way to a Qumran scroll. Thus most scrolls of Isaiah and Ruth from cave 4 (see *DJD* XV and XVI) agree with MT and the LXX almost equally.
7. As a rule, the determining of the relation between the LXX and the scrolls does not take into consideration the originality of readings. However, some scholars claim that common errors (secondary readings) shared by the LXX and a scroll carry much weight, more than agreements in presumed original readings. This type of evaluation is logical, but there are very few objective criteria for the evaluation.
8. In determining the relation between the LXX and the scrolls, occasional agreements and statistical proximity to the LXX in insignificant details are disregarded.<sup>13</sup>

Agreements between the LXX and the published scrolls have been mentioned and analyzed in the critical apparatuses of the editions of the Qumran fragments (mainly: *DJD*) as well as in separate monographs. Only a few Qumran scrolls (and none of the scrolls from the other sites in the Judean Desert) are close to the LXX, to a greater or lesser degree (see the study quoted in n. 13).

(i) 4QJer<sup>b</sup> and 4QJer<sup>d</sup><sup>14</sup> display a very close relation with the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX (unlike the other Qumran scrolls of Jeremiah: 2QJer, 4QJer<sup>a,c</sup>). In fact, no other Qumran text is as close to the LXX as these two fragments in characteristic readings.

The LXX is shorter than MT by one-sixth. It lacks words, phrases, sentences, and entire sections that are found in MT. This characteristic is also reflected in 4QJer<sup>b,d</sup>. Characteristic of the LXX are the short name formu-

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13. For an extensive review of this, see E. Tov, "The Qumran Hebrew Texts and the Septuagint: An Overview", in: S. Kreuzer et al. (eds.), *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*, WUNT 286 (Tübingen, 2012), pp. 3–17.

14. Publication: E. Tov in: E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.IX: The Prophets*, *DJD* XV (Oxford, 1997), pp. 171–176, 203–205.

las, as opposed to longer ones in MT, and these are also found in 4QJer<sup>d</sup> (e.g., 43[50]:4, 5, 6). Likewise, 4QJer<sup>b</sup> lacks 10:6–8, 10 as in the LXX.

Equally characteristic of the LXX are differences in sequence, which are also present in 4QJer<sup>b</sup> covering chapters 9–10 of Jeremiah. In this fragment in which 10:6–8, 10 are lacking in the LXX, it is impossible to reconstruct the order of the verses in 4QJer<sup>b</sup> in any way other than that of the LXX, i.e., 3, 4, 5a, 9, 5b, 11. The section lacking in 4QJer<sup>b</sup> and the LXX (vv. 6–8, 10) has a uniform character: it extols the Lord of Israel, while the remaining verses, extant in both the MT and LXX, deride the idols of the heathen. It is most likely that the doxology in these verses was added in MT as a counterbalance to the mockery of the idols.

Both of these phenomena are amply described in the literature (see *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, p. 286). Minor differences between the Jeremiah scrolls and the LXX indicate that the LXX was not translated from the exact copy found in Qumran, but from a very similar one. Since the agreements pertain to details that are characteristic of the LXX, it stands to reason that the complete scrolls of 4QJer<sup>b,d</sup> would also have agreed with the LXX in the chapters that have not been preserved.

(ii) 4QDeut<sup>q</sup> agrees with the LXX against MT in the addition of two significant stichs in Deut 32:43 that give a polytheistic flavor to the song. The two also agree in four small details, and differ in three small details. At the same time, the LXX could not have been translated from 4QDeut<sup>q</sup>. Besides, the scroll probably contained only the song in Deuteronomy 32, while the LXX-Deuteronomy was rendered from a complete text of that book.<sup>15</sup>

(iii) 4QSam<sup>a</sup> agrees often with the LXX against MT in significant readings while disagreeing with it in equally significant readings. This scroll is probably the most difficult one to assess:

- Agreements of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> with the LXX and LXX<sup>Luc</sup> need to be analyzed separately because LXX<sup>Luc</sup> reflects the OG in 1 Samuel and 2 Sam 1:1–11:1, while the remainder of 2 Samuel contains a revisional text, *kaige*-Th. In each segment, the scroll thus relates differently to the LXX.

15. The double translation in one of the stichs in the LXX could have been created at a later stage. Several scholars stressed the close relation between the LXX and this scroll: J.H. Tigay, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 513–518; A. Rofé, “The End of the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32.43)” in *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation* (London, 2002), pp. 47–54 (with bibliography).

- The significant agreements and disagreements between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the LXX, as well as the many unique readings in the scroll, are in need of a special explanation.

Because of these complications, scholars described the closeness of the scroll to the LXX in different ways. Already in the first publication of a sizeable fragment of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, Cross recognized its proximity to the LXX, which he expressed in the name of his study.<sup>16</sup> Polak likewise stresses the agreements between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the LXX.<sup>17</sup>

In determining the relation between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the other sources, we take the following aspects into consideration:

- Shared secondary readings of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the LXX mark the strong connection between them.<sup>18</sup>

- On the other hand, the two texts disagree often in extensive groups of variants. Some of these disagreements belong to the pattern 4QSam<sup>a</sup> ≠ LXX = MT, e.g. the long plus in 1 Samuel 11 in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. In other cases, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> differs from all other texts in its unique readings and exegesis (4QSam<sup>a</sup> ≠ LXX ≠ MT), e.g. in the Song of Hannah and in 1 Sam 2:13–16. These unique readings consist of transmission errors and exegetical changes embedded in the scroll.

- In 2 Sam 11:1–24:25 (= *kaige*-Th), LXX<sup>Luc</sup> (closely related to the OG), agrees often with 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, while in 1 Samuel the scroll agrees more frequently with the LXX<sup>B</sup> (= OG). The combined evidence for 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is that this scroll usually agrees with the OG representatives.<sup>19</sup>

In sum, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is often very close to the OG (the LXX and/or LXX<sup>Luc</sup>) when disagreeing with MT, leading to the assumption that these two

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16. F.M. Cross, “A New Qumran Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint”, *BASOR* 132 (1953), pp. 15–26.

17. F.H. Polak, “Statistics and Textual Filiation: The Case of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>/LXX (with a Note on the Text of the Pentateuch)”, in: *Manchester Symposium*, pp. 215–276.

18. For example, note the extensive doublet in 1 Sam 2:23–24 and the erroneous mention of Mephiboshet in 2 Sam 4:1, 2, 12 instead of Ishboshet in MT in v. 12 (together with the absence of a name in MT in vv. 1, 2). For additional examples of shared secondary readings, see Polak, “Statistics”, p. 245 (see n. 17 above).

19. In the calculation of Lange, *Handbuch*, p. 218, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> agrees 143× with the LXX in the OG sections (as opposed to 168 disagreements), and only 39× in 2 Sam 11:1 onwards (= *kaige*-Th), as opposed to 104 disagreements in that section.

sources were closely related at an early stage.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, many new readings were created in both texts subsequent to their separation from one another.<sup>21</sup> Because of the complicated history of the LXX-Samuel, the proximity between the two is not always easily visible.

(iv) 4QSam<sup>b</sup> is closely related to the LXX, as was recognized by Cross in the first publication of that text<sup>22</sup> and by Cross-Parry-Saley in the final publication.<sup>23</sup> Counting “superior” readings in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, these authors find more such readings in the scroll than in the other sources. Besides, the scroll shares ten inferior readings with the OG (LXX<sup>B</sup> and/or LXX<sup>Luc</sup>). In my own analysis, I also found the scroll to be closer to the LXX than MT.<sup>24</sup> This conclusion is significant since 4QSam<sup>b</sup> is one of the earliest Qumran scrolls (c. 250 B.C.E.).<sup>25</sup>

(v) 4QNum<sup>b</sup> often agrees with the LXX, but it also disagrees much with that translation. The most telling examples of the relation between the two are several medium-sized harmonizing pluses that the scroll shares exclusively with the LXX. At the same time, the first feature that comes to mind when characterizing this scroll is its great similarity to the Sam. Pent.,

20. Chronicles is often close to this shared text (see Lange, *Handbuch*, p. 218, n. 29) and Josephus may have used a Greek text close to 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (see Ulrich, *Samuel* and Lange, *Handbuch*, n. 32).

21. In spite of the many differences between the scroll, the LXX and MT, they do not reflect different literary editions except for 1 Sam 1–2 (MT, LXX, possibly 4QSam<sup>a</sup>) and 16–18 (MT, LXX). Thus E. Ulrich, “A Qualitative Assessment of the Textual Profile of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>”, in: A. Hilhorst et al. (eds.), *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, JSJSup 122 (Leiden, 2007), pp. 147–161 (160–161). Maintaining the supremacy of MT, Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, downplays the differences between these three witnesses.

22. F.M. Cross, “The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran”, *JBL* 74 (1955), pp. 147–172 (169–172).

23. “These data strongly support the view that the Old Greek was translated, presumably in Alexandria, from a Hebrew manuscript that was closely affiliated with the Old Palestinian text, such as that preserved in this old Samuel manuscript” (*DJD* XVII, p. 223).

24. Counting only cases of disagreement between the LXX and the MT, and not taking into consideration the other sources or the unique readings of the scroll, I found it to be much closer to the LXX than to the MT. While the unique readings of 4QSam<sup>b</sup> are not insignificant, they are far less numerous than the other two mentioned categories.

25. See D.N. Freedman, “The Massoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography”, *Textus* 2 (1962), pp. 87–102; Cross-Parry-Saley, *DJD* XVII, pp. 220–221.

especially in its major editorial pluses based on Deuteronomy (Num 20:13; 21:12, 22; 27:23). 4QNum<sup>b</sup> should therefore be recorded as close to both the Sam. Pent. and the LXX.

(vi) 11QPs<sup>a</sup> col. XXVIII is closely related to Psalm 151, which appears in a longer version in the LXX. Since the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX version has logical shortcomings in the flow of ideas, probably segments were removed editorially from that text. The background of this presumed shortening is probably related to an early version of this Psalm (= 11QPs<sup>a</sup> col. XXVIII) that differed in key points from the depiction of David in 1 Samuel 16. This shortening would have involved the removal of David's praise of God from the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX.<sup>26</sup>

Internal relation between the scrolls showing affinity with the LXX. There is insufficient evidence for speculating on a special relationship between the texts that are close to the LXX. This issue can best be analyzed by contrasting these texts with the MT group and the Sam. Pent. group among the Qumran texts. Both groups are internally coherent, while texts that resemble the LXX do not form a close-knit textual family. They represent individual scrolls that in the putative stemma of the biblical texts happened to be close to the Hebrew text from which the LXX was translated. Since the *Vorlage* of each biblical book in the LXX was a single biblical scroll and not a family or recension, the recognition of Hebrew scrolls that were close to the *Vorlage* of the LXX does not contribute to our understanding of the development of the Hebrew text. The seven Hebrew Qumran texts that are close to the LXX comprise 5.75% of the 121 Qumran biblical texts that are large enough to enable analysis of their textual features.

## 2. The Samaritan Pentateuch

As the relation between the LXX and the Sam. Pent. cannot be separated from an analysis of the Sam. Pent. as a whole, nor from the Sam. Pent.'s relation with MT, this discussion is necessarily preceded by a short analysis of this Pentateuchal text.

The Sam. Pent. contains the text of the Torah, written in a special version of the "early" Hebrew script as preserved for centuries by the Samaritan community. The Sam. Pent. was created when a very thin layer of Samaritan sectarian elements was added to an early, pre-Samaritan text, similar to those found at Qumran (e.g., 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup> and 4QNum<sup>b</sup>; for

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26. See A. Sanders, *DJD* IV, pp. 54–64. On the other hand, M. Segal, "The Literary Development of Psalm 151: A New Look at the Septuagint Version", *Textus* 21 (2002), pp. 139–158 regards the two versions as parallel developments.

an analysis of the relation between the Sam. Pent. and the pre-Samaritan texts, see Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 90–93). Scholars are divided in their opinion on the date of origin of the Sam. Pent.

It is usually claimed that the Sam. Pent. differs in some 6000 details from MT. In many of these cases, the Sam. Pent. agrees with the LXX according to the formula Sam. Pent. = LXX ≠ MT.<sup>27</sup> The great majority of these agreements concern small details.

The first critical analysis of the differences between the Sam. Pent. and MT was that of Gesenius, *Pent. sam.*, pp. 10–16. For a convenient summary of Gesenius' views and for a restatement of the facts, see Waltke, "Samaritan Pentateuch", esp. pp. 228–232. Additional classifications were made by Kirchheim,<sup>28</sup> Luzzatto,<sup>29</sup> and Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch* (n. 9).

Gesenius, who was the first scholar to classify the differences between the Sam. Pent. and MT, also described the agreements between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX following the same categories of readings he had distinguished in the Sam. Pent. According to his system, the agreements belong to the following categories: glosses, clarifying remarks, changes or additions from parallel verses, large additions from parallel verses and Samaritan changes. Gesenius also recognized that most agreements are in "secondary readings".

In addition, Gesenius continued the discussion begun before his time on the nature and origin of the agreements between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX.<sup>30</sup> However, better insights on this issue can be obtained from a study

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27. The data have been collected by B. Walton with the assistance of E. Castellus and J. Lightfoot in vol. VI of Walton's *Polyglot* (London, 1657), section IV, pp. 19–34. Similar material has been collected by Z. Metal in *Samaritan News* 96 (1973), pp. 2–3; 120–121 (1974), pp. 7–10; 122 (1974), pp. 13–16; 123 (Holon, 1974), pp. 8–10; 124 (1974), pp. 6–9, and also separately as *The Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch in Jewish Sources* (Tel Aviv, 1979 [Hebrew]). Metal's lists contain fewer items than Walton's, but they include some not found in this Polyglot. Traditionally, the number of agreements between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX is quoted in scholarship as either 1,600 or 1,900. The more recent analysis by Kim, *Studies* (see below) mentions a smaller number of such agreements.

28. R. Kirchheim, *ברמי שמרון, Introductio in librum Talmudicum "De Samaritanis"* (Heb.; Frankfurt a. Main, 1851; repr. Jerusalem, 1970).

29. S.D. Luzzatto, in an appendix to the above-mentioned work by Kirchheim (n. 28).

30. As possible explanations of the agreements, Gesenius analyzed the following three views (see further Kim, *Studies*, pp. 2–9):

(i) The Alexandrian translators used the Sam. Pent. as their basis. This view was suggested, e.g., by Hassencampius, *Commentatio philologico-critica de*

by H.M. Wiener which, to the best of my knowledge, has not received much attention: “Samaritan[,], Septuagint[,], Massoretic Text”, *The Expositor* VIII, 9 (1911), pp. 200–219. Wiener claims that the relationship between the two sources can be evaluated only when *all* aspects of this relationship are taken into consideration. Stressing the independence of MT, the Sam. Pent., and the LXX, Wiener asserts:

Summing up, it may be said that LXX. provides a text which diverges far more widely from M.T. and Sam. than do the latter *inter se*, and that this proposition may be established from the number of the variants, from their magnitude and importance, from their utility in correcting errors and removing glosses common to M.T. and Sam. and from their sometimes exhibiting different tendencies (pp. 217–218).<sup>31</sup>

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*Pentateucho LXX interpretum graeco non ex hebraeo sed samaritano textu converso* (Marburg, 1765); S. Kohn, *De Pentateucho samaritano ejusque cum versionibus antiquis nexu* (Leipzig, 1865). Later, however, Kohn abandoned this view, claiming that the LXX was interpolated from the so-called Samareitikon. See his article “Samareitikon und Septuaginta”, *MGWJ* 38 (1894), pp. 1–7, 49–67, and see further below.

(ii) The Sam. Pent. was occasionally revised according to the LXX or vice versa. This view was accepted by several scholars before Gesenius (see *ibid.*, p. 13), and later also by Frankel, *Vorstudien*, pp. 237–244.

(iii) The Sam. Pent. and the LXX derived from Jewish manuscripts that resembled one another and differed from the recension of the Pentateuch which obtained official recognition in Palestine. This view was adhered to by Gesenius himself (p. 14) and followed by P. Kahle, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes”, *ThStKr* 88 (1915) = *Opera Minora* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 10ff., 23–26.

Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch* (see n. 9), rightly remarked on discussions like the ones mentioned above: “In following the discussions of these scholars, one might be led to think that SP [= Sam. Pent.] is in greater agreement with LXX than with MT. In fact, just the opposite is the case. After the discussion centered on the set of variants in SP in agreement with LXX it had a tendency to remain there” (pp. 74–75). However, although Purvis was aware of the problems involved, he was probably guilty of a similar methodological error when he reached the following conclusion: “The relationship of the Egyptian text to the Old Palestinian tradition accounts for the occasional agreement of SP and LXX against MT. These agreements can be traced to the Old Palestinian tradition from which the proto-Samaritan developed, and from which the proto-LXX diverged at an earlier time” (p. 81). For a similar view, see Waltke, “Samaritan Pentateuch”.

31. See further by the same author, “The Pentateuchal Text . . . A Reply to Dr. Skinner”, *BSac* 71 (1914), pp. 218–268. See also Seeligmann, *JEOL*, pp. 583–584; *id.*, “Problems”, pp. 214–216.

The following reflections on the agreements between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX should be added to Wiener's remarks:

(i) Many of the agreements are ambiguous for text-critical purposes. The two sources should not be analyzed in the same manner, because the reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX is a matter of conjecture. Many of the agreements between the LXX and the Sam. Pent. reflect common exegesis, especially contextual exegesis, and in many cases there are no criteria for determining whether the exegesis reflected in the LXX derived from the translator or his *Vorlage*. In such cases the nature of the agreement cannot be evaluated for text-critical purposes. This applies especially to deviations from MT and the Sam. Pent. in grammatical categories such as number, person, verbal forms, etc. (cf. chapter 5.C). For example, it cannot be determined whether the plural form of the LXX for MT וּמַקְלִיכֶם in Exod 12:11 derived from a variant like וּמַקְלִיכֶם in the text of the Sam. Pent. or whether it reflects the technique, also known elsewhere in the LXX, of adapting the number of nouns to that of the words with which they are connected (see chapter 5.C.2). Similarly, in Exod 24:2, the plural verb of MT (יַעֲלֶה) is reflected in the singular in both the LXX and Sam. Pent. (יַעֲלֶה) in agreement with its subject (הָעֵם). The same applies to some two hundred instances of an added καί and *waw* in the LXX and the Sam. Pent. and some hundred instances of its omission (see chapter 5.C.6).

(ii) Many of the agreements are shared by other versions, so that they do not indicate a special relationship between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX. The example from Exod 12:11 quoted above typifies such a possibly irrelevant agreement. See also יָדָךְ in Deut 2:7 against a plural form in the Sam. Pent. (יָדֶיךָ) and the versions.

(iii) Agreements between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX which presumably reflect the original reading in a given instance (as opposed to MT) must be treated separately, as indicated on p. 208.

(iv) The agreements must be analyzed anew on the basis of critical editions, which were not available in the seventeenth century when Walton's list was prepared (see n. 27). In the course of this collation one will recognize that several agreements previously listed are, in fact, based on inadequate textual evidence, either on the Greek or the Samaritan level.<sup>32</sup>

32. In addition, attention should be drawn to the so-called Samaritan book of Joshua published by M. Gaster, "Das Buch Josua in hebräisch-samaritanischer Rezension", *ZDMG* 62 (1908), pp. 209–279, 494–549. This composition follows the order of the MT of Joshua and is basically identical with its contents, but deviated from it in many details. Interestingly enough, Gaster realized that some of

In spite of these *caveats*, there is an unmistakable connection between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX in common harmonizations, especially in pluses, even if the significant agreements between the two pertain only to a portion of each text. The two texts reflect a common background, while at a certain point they developed in separate directions. See Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, chapter 3, n. 227.

### C. Characteristic features of the Hebrew text underlying the LXX

Some presumed features of the *Vorlage* of the LXX were scrutinized above, often with negative results.

- No “Egyptian” characteristics of this text can be discerned, nor do we know to what extent the Hebrew text underlying a given translation was characteristic of the Hebrew form of that book as it was known in the area where it was translated (section A).

- A few Qumran scrolls are closer to the LXX than to other known texts (section B).

- The LXX reflects a great number of variant readings in the different books of the Bible, but these cannot be brought under one common denominator such as a shorter, expanded, better, earlier, vulgar text, etc. At the same time, according to Kim, *Studies*, Appendix A, and Polak–Marquis (p. 142), the LXX reflects many more pluses than minuses.

- Some generalizations can be made about certain books, but they can hardly be combined into a general picture. It has become commonplace

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the deviations of the Samaritan text from MT coincide with the LXX and he discussed them in his study, “The Samaritan Book of Joshua and the Septuagint”, *PSBA* 31 (1909), pp. 115–127, 149–153. Two of the more significant examples are Josh 20:4–6 which is absent both from the LXX and the Samaritan book of Joshua and the additions after the LXX of 10:12 and 24:33, which are partially reflected in the Samaritan text. However, before any conclusions can be drawn on the agreements between the LXX and the Samaritan book of Joshua, the nature of the latter (translation from the Arabic?) needs to be analyzed in detail. While the antiquity of the Samaritan Joshua has been contested by some scholars, most notably by P. Kahle, “Zum hebräischen Buch Josua der Samaritaner”, *ZDMG* 62 (1908), pp. 550–551, it was shown by Stenhouse and Crown that the manuscript of the Samaritan Joshua was written in the 14th century utilizing earlier sources: P. Stenhouse, “Samaritan Chronicles”, in: A.D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 218–265; A.D. Crown, “New Light on the Interrelationships of Samaritan Chronicles from Some Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library of Manchester, I–II”, *BJRL* 54/2 (Manchester, 1972), pp. 1–32, 33–58 (33, 52).

to say that the Greek translation of 1–2 Samuel as well as several parts of 1–2 Kings reflect a large number of significant variants. There is a great deal of truth in this statement; the MT of 1–2 Samuel is indeed often corrupt. The Greek version of these books, as well as of Exodus 35–40, Joshua, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Proverbs, Daniel and Esther contain recensionally different elements (see chapter 8).

- Probably the sole generalization which can be made with regard to all the books of the LXX is that they reflect more *significant* deviations from MT than all other versions together. Furthermore, apart from a few scrolls from Qumran, the analysis in chapter 8 shows that the LXX is the only source that contains a relatively large number of variants that bear on the *literary* criticism of the Bible. The only conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that the LXX translation was made from valuable scrolls, which often preceded the ones that became the basis of the MT family.

*A Septuagintal text-type?* The description of the character of the texts that are close to the LXX in the various Scripture books shows that they share only a limited number of features; therefore, it would be inappropriate to speak of a Septuagintal text-type, Septuagintal features, or the like. Nevertheless, so-called Septuagintal features are often mentioned in the literature, not on the basis of any evidence, but of general perceptions about the transmission of the biblical text as described below.

In the literature prior to 1947, the textual witnesses were usually described as being divided into three groups around MT, the Sam. Pent., and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. These units were often named recensions or text-types. This terminology continued to be used, albeit less frequently, in the subsequent literature. One often meets the term “Septuagintal” as a description of a Qumran scroll or readings in a scroll that agree with the LXX. However, this terminology is misleading since the LXX is neither a text-type nor a recension. The assumption of a Septuagintal text-type is unrealistic as there are almost no text-types in the realm of the Hebrew Bible and because the *Vorlagen* of the various books of the LXX have very few features in common. The Greek *translations* share certain characteristics, but their reconstructed Hebrew *Vorlagen* do not share such features. The main element shared by the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the books of the LXX is that they were chosen to be rendered into Greek.

In view of the different backgrounds of the translations included in the LXX, it would be unexpected for the books of the LXX to have textual features in common. The Hebrew Scripture books were translated into Greek

at different times and in different places (Alexandria, Palestine, and possibly elsewhere). When reviewing the nature of the Greek Scripture collection, we are struck by its heterogeneous character, which is most visible in the post-Pentateuchal books. See n. 4 above.

Textual features characterize the activity of the scribes who copied the scrolls or their background. Such features involve tendencies to shorten or expand, to add explanatory remarks, and to change or harmonize details. From among these various tendencies, we recognize only a large number of harmonizing pluses in the *Vorlage* of the Greek Torah.<sup>33</sup> We recognize no other features that the *Vorlagen* of the Greek books have in common. The quality of the text (superior or inferior readings) is not a textual feature, which prevents us from stating that superior readings are typical of the LXX. By the same token, the fact that the LXX relatively frequently reflects a literary stage in the development of a composition different from that of MT does not render these details “Septuagintal”. The shortness of the LXX in 1 Samuel 16–18, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, ascribed to their early literary shape, creates the impression of a common phenomenon. However, this is a very small group of books and they share literary and not textual features.

In sum, there is no evidence for a Septuagintal text-type or for characteristic textual features of the LXX.

#### D. Evaluation of the literary evidence in the LXX

The LXX reflects more editorial (literary) deviations from MT and the other witnesses than all other sources taken together. In other words, be-

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33. These pluses are similar to those of the Sam. Pent. group, but are less familiar to those scholars who continue to believe that this feature is typical of the Sam. Pent. group only. In fact, the LXX reflects more contextual harmonizations than the Sam. Pent., often twice as many. In Numbers, these features are shared with 4QNum<sup>b</sup> against all other witnesses, and in Deuteronomy they are often shared with either the MT or the Sam. Pent., but are more frequently exclusive to the LXX. For the data, see R.S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York/Oxford, 1998); E. Tov, “Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy”, in: *Hebrew Text, Greek Texts and Qumran*, pp. 271–282; G. Dorival, *La Bible d’Alexandrie, Vol. 4: Les Nombres* (Paris, 1994), pp. 42–43; Kim, *Studies*, p. 311 (the complete Torah). See also M. Rösel, “Die Septuaginta und der Kult: Interpretationen und Aktualisierungen im Buche Numeri”, in: Y. Goldman and C. Uehlinger (eds.), *La double transmission du texte biblique. Hommage à A. Schenker* (OBO 179; Fribourg/Göttingen, 2001), pp. 25–40 (29–39). Against the traditional number of 1900 agreements between the LXX and the Sam. Pent., Kim counts merely 535 instances, 348 of which are harmonizations. Altogether, Kim located 1441 harmonizations in the LXX-Torah.

yond MT, the LXX preserves the greatest amount of information on different stages in the development of the Hebrew Bible. See chapter 8.

When turning to the background of this situation, we may not be able to explain the data. It stands to reason that the Hebrew manuscripts used for the Greek translation were important copies of the Hebrew Bible, since otherwise they would not have contained so much material which scholars consider relevant to the literary development of the biblical books. How should this phenomenon be explained?

The special character of the *Vorlage* of the LXX seems to be related to two factors or a combination of them: (1) the idiosyncratic Hebrew manuscripts used for the Greek translation were *not* embraced by the circles that fostered MT; and (2) the relatively early date of the translation enterprise (275–150 B.C.E.), involving still earlier Hebrew manuscripts, could reflect vestiges of earlier editorial stages of the biblical books.<sup>34</sup> The earlier the date assigned to the *Vorlage* of the LXX, the more likely the text was to reflect early redactional stages of the biblical books. However, only a combination of the two factors explains that very old texts, such as probably reflected in the LXX, still circulated in the third and second centuries B.C.E., when some of the proto-Masoretic texts known to us already existed. This approach does not explain the cases in which the LXX presumably reflects editorial stages subsequent to MT. In these cases we have to appeal also to the special status of the *Vorlage* of the LXX in ancient Israel, in other words to its independence from the circles which embraced MT (factor 1).

When ascribing the idiosyncratic character of the Hebrew manuscripts reflected in the LXX to their early date, we find some support for this approach in the Qumran documents. A few early Qumran texts, similarly deriving from the third and second centuries B.C.E., reflect redactional differences from MT. Thus, two Qumran manuscripts contain the same early redactional stage as the LXX, namely 4QJer<sup>b</sup> and 4QJer<sup>d</sup> (both: 200–150 B.C.E.), while 4QJosh<sup>a</sup> is relatively early (150–50 B.C.E.). At the same time, two other manuscripts *possibly* reflecting early literary stages are later: 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> (50–25 B.C.E.) and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (50–25 B.C.E.). The evidence for Qumran is thus not clear-cut, but neither is it unequivocal for the LXX. For only some of the LXX books reflect redactionally different versions and by the same token only some of the early Qumran manuscripts are independent vis-à-vis MT. Nevertheless, the picture is rather clear. Among the eighteen Qumran manuscripts that were assigned by their editors to the same

34. There is no evidence for the alternative assumption, that the LXX was based on Hebrew texts of a local Egyptian vintage. See section A above.

period as the LXX,<sup>35</sup> the two mentioned manuscripts of Jeremiah contain redactionally different elements, while the number of non-Masoretic manuscripts which are textually non-aligned in small details is very high.<sup>36</sup> Thus, according to our tentative working hypothesis, the early date of the Hebrew manuscripts used by the LXX translations in some books and of some of the Qumran manuscripts may explain their attesting to early literary traditions. The assumption that the LXX was based on very ancient Hebrew manuscripts that were brought to Egypt in the fifth or fourth century would seem to provide an adequate explanation for the background of the LXX, but since we find redactionally early manuscripts from the second and first centuries B.C.E. also in Qumran, that explanation need not be invoked.

An alternative explanation of the special character of the LXX seems to be that the scrolls used for that translation came from circles different from the temple circles which supposedly fostered MT.<sup>37</sup> This argument, pertaining to the textual situation at the time when manuscripts were selected for the Greek translation, is hypothetical with regard to the central position of MT in temple circles. However, the fact remains that none of the MT texts was used for the Greek translation.

While we cannot depict the early history of the biblical text on the basis of the limited evidence described so far, nevertheless an attempt will be made to illuminate a few shady areas.

It seems that most cases of different literary editions preserved in the textual witnesses reflect editorial developments in a linear way, one edition

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35. This information is based on B. Webster, "Chronological Indices of the Texts from the Judean Desert", *DJD* XXXIX, pp. 351–446.

36. Of these eighteen manuscripts, seven are considered textually independent in small details: 4QExod<sup>d</sup> (225–175 B.C.E.), 4QDeut<sup>b</sup> (150–100 B.C.E.), 4QDeut<sup>c</sup> (150–100 B.C.E.), 5QDeut (200–150 B.C.E.), 6QpapKings (150–100 B.C.E.), 4QQoh<sup>a</sup> (175–150 B.C.E.), 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (150–125 B.C.E.), and one is close to the Sam. Pent.: 4QExod-Lev<sup>f</sup> (250 B.C.E.). The others are either close to MT, or their textual affiliation cannot be determined.

37. Several statements in the rabbinic literature mention one or more master copies of the Torah in the temple, as well as limited textual activity, including correcting and revising (for some references, see *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, 32). Since the only text quoted in the rabbinic literature and used as the base for the Targumim and Vulgate is MT, it stands to reason that it was the text embraced by the rabbis. Furthermore, all the texts used by the zealots of Masada and the freedom fighters of Bar Kochba found at all other sites in the Judean Desert except for Qumran are virtually identical to the medieval MT. These are probably the "corrected copies" mentioned in *b. Pesah.* 112a, while the proto-Masoretic texts found at Qumran are one step removed from these "corrected texts".

having been developed from an earlier one, preserved or not, while there also may have been intervening stages which have not been preserved. For example, the long editions of MT in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and 1 Samuel 16–18 probably developed from earlier shorter editions such as reflected in the LXX and 4QJer<sup>b, d</sup>. In other cases the evidence is more complex, such as in Joshua where the LXX edition is in different pericopes shorter, longer, and different in wording. However, in all these instances, a linear development between the LXX and MT editions *or vice versa* may be assumed, with the later edition mainly expanding the earlier one, while at times also shortening and changing its message.<sup>38</sup>

Any reply to the question of why texts of the MT family were not used for the LXX translation remains a matter of conjecture. It probably seems rather unusual to us, having been exposed for two thousand years to the central position of MT, that that text was not used for this purpose. But in the reality of the third and second centuries B.C.E. the non-use of MT was not unexpected. The realm of MT influence may have been limited to certain circles, and we do not know from which circles the Hebrew manuscripts used for the translation were sent or brought to Egypt. Clearly the circles or persons who sent or brought the manuscripts of the Torah to Alexandria were *not* Eleazar the High Priest and the sages, as narrated in the Epistle of Aristeas § 176. Any High Priest would undoubtedly have encouraged the use of MT for such an important enterprise. Incidentally, the Epistle of Aristeas praises the qualities of the translators as well as the external features of the scrolls, but says nothing about their content.

Our point of departure is that the proto-Masoretic copies existed already when the Greek translation was made. Several such copies were indeed found at Qumran. In the case of Jeremiah, the MT form is extant in 4QJer<sup>a</sup>, which is dated around 200 B.C.E. Why then was a copy of the tradition of 4QJer<sup>b, d</sup> used for the LXX, and not its MT counterpart? Was it preferred to MT because it was considered more ancient (which it really was, in our view) or more authentic? Was that text possibly accepted by specific

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38. The alternative assumption of the existence of pristine parallel editions has been raised often in scholarship, but it seems that it cannot be supported by the preserved evidence, neither with regard to major variations, nor with regard to smaller ones. A possible exception would be the case of Proverbs, where two equally viable arrangements of the pericopes are reflected in the LXX and MT S T V. However, even this case does not necessarily prove the existence of early parallel editions. It only shows that scholars are often unable to decide which text developed from another one, while in reality one may have developed from the other.

circles as opposed to the MT version adopted in the temple circles? The text used for the LXX was a good one, as opposed to many of the carelessly written copies found at Qumran. It was not one of the Palestinian “vulgar” copies involving much secondary editing, such as the Sam. Pent. group.<sup>39</sup> But it remains difficult to determine the background of this text. At the same time, the choice of certain texts for the Greek translation could not have been coincidental.

The evidence discussed in *TCHB*<sup>3</sup> chapter 7 represents only some of the literary material reflected in the LXX. One should therefore consider the totality of the LXX evidence. It would be one-sided to consider only chronological factors, as was done in several studies which suggest a Maccabean date for elements in MT, thus explaining the background of the various redactional stages as chronologically different. However, at the time of the translation, ancient copies still circulated, while the edition of MT had already incorporated editorial stages meant to replace these earlier texts. The assumption of a Maccabean date of MT would explain several cases in which the LXX antedated MT, but that solution seems to be unrealistic since several early (pre-Maccabean) MT manuscripts are known from Qumran. Nevertheless, such a late date has been suggested for several biblical books or parts of them, especially Psalms, without reference to the LXX.<sup>40</sup> As for the LXX, on the basis of a single reading and a small group of readings, Schenker dated the MT edition of 1–2 Kings to the period between 250 and 130 B.C.E., probably closer to the later end of this spectrum.<sup>41</sup> According to Schenker, an equally late revision is found in MT of 1 Kgs 20:10–20.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, Lust dated the MT edition of Ezekiel to the second century B.C.E., the time of Jonathan Maccabee.<sup>43</sup> Böhler notes that the list of the inhabitants

39. Nevertheless, the Greek Torah contains a fair number of harmonizing readings in *small* details, more than the Sam. Pent. group; see *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, chapter 3, n. 227.

40. For a discussion, see R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne/Mainz, 1978), pp. 192–193.

41. A. Schenker, *Septante et texte Massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2–14*, CahRB 48 (Paris, 2000).

42. Those verses mention groups of dancing men as well as King David's dances. These elements suited the Hellenistic culture, and were therefore omitted in MT, according to Schenker, probably in the second century B.C.E.

43. “Ezekiel 4 and 5 in Hebrew and in Greek”, *ETL* 77 (2001), pp. 132–152 (132–135). Lust's point of departure is a comparison of the 390 years of punishment of MT in Ezek 4:4–6 (actually 390 + 40 = 430) and the 190 years of the LXX (= 150 years for the iniquity of Israel [v 4] + 40 for that of Judah). Lust considers the figure

of Jerusalem in the edition of MT in Nehemiah 11 reflects the reality of the Maccabean times with regard to the scope of Judea.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, in the case of the MT version of Joshua 20 differing redactionally from the LXX, Wellhausen and Cooke suggested that the MT redaction was created after the time of the LXX.<sup>45</sup>

While not trying to refute these specific “Maccabean” arguments in detail, it seems that the basis for the Maccabean dating of MT is one-sided, and that several details are debatable. At least in the case of Jeremiah the chronological argument does not hold, and furthermore one should be attentive to the textual forces in ancient Israel in the third and second centuries B.C.E. At that time, the MT manuscripts were embraced by certain circles only, while others used different, often older, manuscripts.<sup>46</sup>

of 190 of the LXX as more original, while the 390 years of MT show its late date. According to the edition of MT, if the 390 years are to be calculated from the date of the destruction of the first temple, together with the mentioned 40 years, we arrive at 157/156 B.C.E., during the era of Jonathan Maccabee. Lust does not explain the exact relation between the figures of MT and the LXX.

44. D. Böhler, “On the Relationship between Textual and Literary Criticism—The Two Recensions of the Book of Ezra: Ezra–Neh (MT) and 1 Esdras (LXX)”, in: A. Schenker (ed.), *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, SBLSCS 52 (Atlanta, 2003), pp. 35–50 (48).

45. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (4th ed.; repr. Berlin, 1963), p. 132; G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Joshua* (Cambridge, 1918) *ad loc.* See also A. Rofé, “Joshua 20: Historico-Literary Criticism Illustrated”, in: Tigay, *Empirical Models*, pp. 131–47, esp. 145.

46. My intuition tells me that more often than not the LXX reflects an earlier stage than MT both in the literary shape of the biblical books and in small details. Thus also D. Barthélemy, “L'enchevêtrement de l'histoire textuelle et de l'histoire littéraire dans les relations entre la Septante et le Texte Massorétique: Modifications dans la manière de concevoir les relations existant entre la LXX et le TM, depuis J. Morin jusqu'à E. Tov”, in: Pietersma–Cox, *De Septuaginta*, pp. 21–40 (39): “Souvent cet état <scil. . . littéraire autonome et distinct du TM> est plus ancien que celui qu'offre le TM. Parfois il est plus récent. Mais cela ne saurait amener à préférer l'un à l'autre. LXX et TM méritent d'être traités comme deux formes bibliques traditionnelles dont chacune doit être interprétée pour elle-même”.

## CHAPTER 7

# THE EVALUATION OF RETROVERTED VARIANTS IN BIBLICAL RESEARCH

Never was the LXX more used and less studied!  
(P. Katz, "Septuagintal Studies", p. 198)

It is not sufficient to indicate that a given deviation in the LXX reflects a variant reading; the variant should be evaluated and compared with all transmitted evidence, especially with MT. This comparison is not merely an intellectual game, for if and when a given variant is preferred to MT, it ought to be used also in the exegesis of the biblical text. This evaluation is discussed here under two headings, relating to the textual and literary criticism of the Bible.

We must begin by clarifying the method. On p. 4, a distinction was made between the two stages in which textual criticism operates. The first deals with collecting variants from Hebrew and translated sources, while the second is concerned with their evaluation. These two stages must remain separate.<sup>1</sup>

Having analyzed the procedures followed in stage one in the preceding chapters, we now turn to stage two. At this level, all Hebrew and retroverted variants are compared with MT, and in the case of reconstructed evidence one must forget for a moment that one is dealing with variants that are "merely" retroverted from non-Hebrew sources.<sup>2</sup> In principle, *the evaluation of Hebrew and retroverted variants is identical*, as long as the retrover-

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1. That is, when analyzing the translation, one must limit oneself to retroverting its *Vorlage*, and as a rule (see, however, p. 98), arguments pertaining to the intrinsic value of variants are irrelevant. Indeed, retroverted variants may be incorrect or secondary in the history of the Hebrew text (see chapter 3.A.4), but they are still variants. Similarly, when evaluating the retroverted variants, one must refrain from referring to criteria that pertain to retroversion and translation technique. Unfortunately, the two realms are often confused.

2. Naturally, if in a given instance intrinsic evidence regarding the translation does not yield a *reliable* retroversion, that retroverted variant need not be evaluated contextually. In such cases a contextual evaluation has no methodological base and

sion is reliable. This evaluation of readings goes far beyond LXX scholarship and should be considered part of the textual criticism of the Scripture text in the widest sense. Furthermore, the evaluation is not bound by the limits of textual criticism, as criteria from various disciplines are brought to bear on individual readings.

#### A. General

The LXX provides the largest number of significant variants among the textual witnesses bearing on the text of the Bible. These variants are evaluated and subsequently used in the exegesis of the biblical books. On the use of the LXX in biblical scholarship, see (in chronological sequence) Schuurmans Stekhoven, *Dodekapropheton*, pp. 115ff.; H.M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint: Its Use in Textual Criticism", *BA* 9 (1946), pp. 21–34; id., "Current Progress"; id., "Textual Criticism"; Roberts, *Text*, pp. 178–181; J.W. Wevers, "Text History and Textual Criticism of the Septuagint", *VT* 29 (1978), pp. 392–402; D.W. Gooding, *Current Problems and Methods in the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament*, Inaugural Lecture, The Queens University of Belfast, 10 May 1978 (Belfast, 1979); G.L. Archer, "A Reassessment of the Value of the Septuagint of 1 Samuel for Textual Emendation in Light of Qumran Fragments", in: John S. and Paul D. Feinberg (eds.), *Tradition and Testament: Essays in Honor of Charles Feinberg* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 223–240; E.J. Revell, "LXX and MT: Aspects of Relationships", in: Pietersma–Cox, *De Septuaginta*, pp. 41–51; J.W. Wevers, "The Use of the Septuagint for Text Criticism: The Septuagint", in: Fernández Marcos, *La Septuaginta*, pp. 15–24; McCarter, *Textual Criticism*; Aejmelaeus, "Hebrew Vorlage"; N. Fernández Marcos, "The Use of the Septuagint in the Criticism of the Hebrew Bible", *Sefarad* 47 (1987), pp. 59–72; J. Bazard and R.F. Poswick, "Aspects statistiques des rapports entre la Septante et le texte massorétique", in: Cox, *VII Congress*, 123–156; J. Treballe, "The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in the Books of Kings", in: Cox, *VII Congress*, pp. 285–299; B. Chiesa, "Textual History and Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Old Testament", in: Treballe, *Madrid Qumran Congress*, I, pp. 257–272; Jobes–Silva, *Invitation*, pp. 146–166; Siegert, *Einführung*. On a more popular level, see F.W. Danker, *Multiple Tools for Bible Study* (Saint Louis, 1970), pp. 81–95.

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would create constant confusion between arguments about the retroversion and the textual evaluation.

Scholars usually indicate their preference for specific retroverted variants by the phrase “read probably/possibly, etc., with LXX . . .”. Preferred readings have been collected in the *BH* series and further by: Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 305ff.; H. Oort, *Textus hebraici emendationes quibus in Vetere Testamento Neerlandice vertendo usi sunt A. Kuenen, I. Hooykaas, W.H. Kusters, H. Oort* (Leiden, 1900); Perles, *Analekten* and *Analekten II*; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*; Kennedy, *Amendment*; Fischer, *Isaias*, pp. 90ff. (“Ursprüngliche Lesungen”); *NAB*, pp. 325–451 (also published separately as: *Textual Notes on the NAB* [Paterson, N.J., n.d.]); Brockington, *NEB*; Barthélemy, *Report*. Modern translations often adopt readings from sources other than MT<sup>3</sup> as explained in a series of theoretical analyses.<sup>4</sup>

Likewise, the intrinsic value of variants is often indicated and analyzed in the commentaries of biblical books. The thoroughness of such analyses depends on the nature of the commentary and/or the series in which it appeared. It is hard to single out commentaries displaying a special interest in textual criticism. Among the different series of commentaries, mention should be made of the International Critical Commentary (ICC) and

3. For example, RSV; NRSV; *NAB*; *NEB*; *REB*; *La Sainte Bible, traduite en français sous la direction de l'École biblique de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1956); *Die Heilige Schrift, Altes und Neues Testament* (Bonn, 1966); *Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift* (Stuttgart, 1974); *The New Jerusalem Bible* (London, 1990; New York, 1990); *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und des Neuen Testaments* (Zürich, 1991).

4. B. Ljungberg et al., *Att översätta Gamla testamentet: Texter, kommentarer, riktlinjer* (Statens offentliga utredningar 1974:33; Stockholm, 1974); D.F. Payne, “Old Testament Textual Criticism—Its Principles and Practice Apropos of Recent English Versions”, *TynBul* 25 (1974), pp. 99–112; B. Albrektson, “Textual Criticism and the Textual Basis of a Translation of the Old Testament”, *BT* 26 (1975), pp. 314–324; id., “The Swedish Old Testament Translation Project—Principles and Problems”, *Theory and Practice of Translation* (Bern, 1978), pp. 151–164; K.R. Crim, “Versions, English”, *IDBSup*, cols. 933–938; A. Schenker, “Was übersetzen wir?: Fragen zur Textbasis, die sich aus der Textkritik ergeben”, in: J. Gnllka and H.P. Rüger (eds.), *Die Übersetzung der Bibel: Aufgabe der Theologie* (Bielefeld, 1985), H.S. Scanlin, “The Presuppositions of HOTTP and the Translator”, *BT* 43 (1992), pp. 101–116; pp. 65–80; B. Albrektson, “Translation and Emendation”, in: S.E. Balentine and J. Barton (eds.), *Language, Theology, and The Bible—Essays in Honour of James Barr* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 27–39; id., *Text, Translation, Theology: Selected Essays on the Hebrew Bible*, SOTSMS (Farnham/Burlington, VT, 2010), pp. 95–106, 121–134; S.C. Daley, “Textual Influence of the Qumran Scrolls on English Bible Versions”, in: E.D. Herbert and E. Tov (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (London, 2002), pp. 253–87; id., *The Textual Basis of English Translations of the Hebrew Bible*, Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2007; and the discussions cited in these studies.

the Biblischer Kommentar (BK). Of individual commentaries of the 19th and 20th centuries, the following are worthy of note for their interest in text-critical issues (in the sequence of the biblical books): A. Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, KEH (Leipzig, 1886); G.J. Spurrell, *Notes on the Text of the Book of Genesis* (Oxford, 1896); A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (Leipzig, 1886); G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Joshua in the Revised Version with Introduction and Notes*, CB (Cambridge, 1918); C.F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (Oxford, 1918; repr. New York, 1970); O. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels erklärt*, KEH (Leipzig, 1842); Wellhausen, *Samuel*; Driver, *Samuel*; A. Fernández Truyols, *I Sam. 1–15, crítica textual* (Rome, 1917); P.K. McCarter, *I Samuel, II Samuel*, AB (Garden City, NY, 1980, 1984); Burney, *Kings*; J.A. Montgomery, *Kings*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1951); van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*; P. Volz, *Studien zum Text des Jeremia*, BWANT 25 (Leipzig, 1920); W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, vols. I–II, ICC (Edinburgh, 1986, 1996); Cornill, *Ezechiel*; G.A. Cooke, *Ezekiel*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1936); W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, BK (Neukirchen, 1969); J. Taylor, *The Massoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah* (London/Edinburgh, 1891); V. Ryssel, *Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha, ein kritischer Commentar zu Micha* (Leipzig, 1887); S. Zandstra, *The Witness of the Vulgate, Peshitta and Septuagint to the Text of Zephaniah*, Contributions to Oriental History and Philology IV (New York, 1909); F. Wutz, *Die Psalmen, Textkritische Untersuchung* (München, 1925); M. Scott, *Textual Discoveries in Proverbs, Psalms, and Isaiah* (London, 1927); A.J. Baumgartner, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des Proverbes d'après les principales traductions anciennes* (Leipzig, 1890); G. Beer, *Der Text des Buches Hiob* (Marburg, 1897); M.Th. Houtsma, *Textkritische Studien zum Alten Testament, I—Das Buch Hiob* (Leiden, 1925); E. Dhorme, *Job, ÉBib* (Paris, 1926; repr. Nashville, 1984); B. Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations* (Lund, 1963); J.A. Montgomery, *Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1927); J.J. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, 1994); J.A. Bewer, *Der Text des Buches Ezra 1*, FRLANT n.s. 14 (Göttingen, 1922); H. Gotthard, *Der Text des Buches Nehemia* (Wiesbaden, 1958). For additional bibliographical references, see: E. König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Bonn, 1893), p. 133. Of the earlier commentaries, see especially J.D. Michaelis, *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, 1–24 (Frankfurt, 1771–89); id., *Neue orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, 1–8 (Göttingen, 1786–91). On all the books of the Bible see S. Davidson, *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, Revised from Critical Sources; Being an Attempt to Present a Purer and More Correct Text*

than the Received One of Van der Hooght; by the Aid of the Best Existing Materials (London, 1855) and the valuable volumes of D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, OBO 50/1–4 (Fribourg/Göttingen, 1982, 1986, 1992, 2005).

The most thorough analyses of some textual problems are to be found in articles and monographs on non-textual issues, such as the language and exegesis of the Bible. Relevant material may even be found in studies of such specialized subjects as the geography and history of the Bible. There is not sufficient bibliographical guidance on this very wide range of literature, but the *Elenchus bibliographicus biblicus* appended to *Biblica* and the *Index of Articles on Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem) provide valuable assistance.

#### B. The evaluation of readings

All readings must be analyzed according to their intrinsic value, using arguments relating to “context” in its wider sense, that is, exegesis, language, literary criticism and even more remote disciplines, such as history and geography. When evaluating readings, scholars usually attempt to determine which of two or more readings reflects the “original” or “archetypal” reading, because their ultimate goal is often phrased as the reconstruction of elements in the “original” text of the Bible. However, as indicated on pp. 2–4, such reconstruction is problematic. Nevertheless, in *individual* instances it is probably legitimate to reconstruct the “original” reading that is superior to all other readings. This applies especially to readings that have been corrupted in the course of scribal transmission. In such cases, one indicates as “original” that reading which was presumably contained in the text, the reconstruction of which is aimed at by textual criticism. A more moderate version of this procedure is often phrased as the search for the reading that, in the most natural way, explains the origin of the other readings, or the reading from which all others developed. It goes without saying that all evaluations of readings are subjective. While some objective aspects are involved in the *retroversion* of variants, their *evaluation* is completely subjective.

In the course of the evaluation, one reading will be preferred to another. A few examples follow of preferred readings reflected in the LXX:

Jer 23:33	MT	וכי ישאלך העם הזה או הנביא או כהן לאמר מה משא יהוה ואמרת אליהם) את מה משא (When this people, or a prophet, or a priest asks you: "What is the burden of the LORD?", you shall answer them) "What burden?"—Cf. S.
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The latter phrase is contextually difficult since the use of **את** is unprecedented. It reflects a *lectio difficilior* as compared with the contextually appropriate reading of the LXX:

LXX	ὅμεῖς ἐστε τὸ λῆμμα (= V) You are the burden!
=	אתם המשא

Most scholars agree that the reading of MT reflects a scribal error (incorrect word division), apparently influenced by **מה משא** in v. 33a, while LXX and V reflect the original reading. However, there is no unanimous view on this or any other reading, as can be seen from an study written in defense of MT.<sup>5</sup>

Jer 29:26	MT	ה' נתנך כהן . . . להיות) פְּקָדִים בית ה' (The LORD has made you priest . . . to be) officers <in/of> the House of the LORD.
(36:26)	LXX	γενέσθαι ἐπιστάτην ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου
=		ה' פְּקִיד בבית ה' (= S V; ≈ T) to be an officer in the House of the LORD

These two texts reflect a different understanding of **פקיד** (in the singular or plural), together with an interchange **מ/ב** and a different word division (see chapter 4.B). The incongruence in MT between the object of the verb in the singular and **פְּקָדִים** in the plural does not show up in the LXX, which is therefore preferred. The former probably resulted from a simple scribal error as described above.

5. N. Walker, "The Masoretic Pointing of Jeremiah's Pun", VT 7 (1957), p. 413. For a full analysis of this verse, see W. McKane, "משא in Jeremiah 23 33–40", in: J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Prophecy, Essays Presented to Georg Fohrer on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday, 6 September 1980*, BZAW 150 (Berlin/New York, 1980), pp. 35–54. It is not likely that the *Vorlage* of the LXX should be reconstructed as the less common **אתמה**, as suggested by P. Wernberg-Møller, "The Pronoun **אתמה** and Jeremiah's Pun", VT 6 (1956), pp. 315–316.

Jer 41:9	MT	בִּיד גְּדַלְיָהוּ הוּא אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הַמֶּלֶךְ אָסָא (The cistern into which Ishmael threw all the corpses of the men he had killed) by the hand of Gedaliah, that was the one that King Asa had constructed (on account of King Baasha of Israel. That was the one which Ishmael son of Nethaniah filled with corpses.) = T S V.
(48:9)	LXX	φρέαρ μέγα τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀσά ... that was the/a large cistern that King Asa constructed
	=	בּוֹר גָּדֹל הוּא אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הַמֶּלֶךְ אָסָא

The reading of MT is unlikely because the phrase בִּיד גְּדַלְיָהוּ cannot be explained contextually. Gedaliah was one of the slain; the slain were not killed by him. Furthermore, the explanation of בִּיד as either “by the hand/side” or “because of” (M.J. Dahood, *Bib* 44 [1963], p. 302) cannot be paralleled. These problems do not exist in the text which is reflected in the LXX and which fits the context well (cf. also 1 Macc 7:19). The consonants of the reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX are very similar to MT, so that it is easy to understand how בּוֹר גָּדֹל (LXX) was corrupted to בִּיד גְּדַלְיָהוּ הוּא . . . (MT).

### C. Some rules for evaluation

For a full description of the rules, the reader is referred to Tov, *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 269–282.

These rules, summarized by P. Volz, “Ein Arbeitsplan für die Textkritik des Alten Testaments”, *ZAW* 54 (1936), pp. 100–113; Barthélemy, *Report*; Payne, “Old Testament Textual Criticism”; and A. Schenker, *Biblia Hebraica Quinta, Part 18: General Introduction and Megilloth* (Stuttgart, 2004), pp. VII–XXXVI represent the traditional approach to textual guidelines. The following faults are to be found with these guidelines.

- The logic underlying certain rules is questionable (*lectio difficilior, lectio brevior*).
- The application of abstract rules does not make the evaluation of readings objective.
- Textual rules can be applied to only a small fraction of the readings that need to be evaluated.

- Textual rules are limited to internal evidence. No commonly accepted or valid external rules exist in the textual criticism of Hebrew Scripture.

These criticisms pertain only to the application of textual rules. We do not imply that such rules are incorrect or should be abandoned, but rather that they should be used sparingly and with full recognition of their subjective nature. For the evaluation of the scribal transmission of some witnesses, such as the LXX and S, external rules can be helpful. However, the employment of such rules is very limited for the internal comparison of Hebrew variants and for the comparison of such variants with reconstructed variants from the ancient translations. Furthermore, even if there are objective aspects to the rules, the very selection of a particular rule is subjective. For example, a given reading can be characterized as a *lectio difficilior*, a transcription error, or as an exegetical element. Each of these evaluative options leads to a different conclusion.

This assertion leads to some *general reflections* on the nature of textual evaluation and the use of guidelines within that framework. The quintessence of textual evaluation is the selection from the different transmitted readings of the one that is the most appropriate to its context. Within this selection process, the concept of the “context” is taken in a broad sense, as referring to the language, style, and content of both the immediate context and of the literary unit in which the reading is found. This procedure necessarily allows the scholar great liberty but, at the same time, burdens him with the task of negotiating his way through a labyrinth of data and considerations. Since the context is taken in a wide sense, scholars have to refer to data and arguments bearing on different aspects of the text, and hence to different disciplines: the language and vocabulary of literary units and of Scripture as a whole, the exegesis of verses, chapters, and books, and the general content and ideas of a given unit or book. In addition to these, the scholar must be aware of the intricacies of textual transmission, and in particular, of the types of errors made in the course of that process.

It has sometimes been said that one ought to regard as original the reading that explains the origin of the other readings in the most natural way, or the reading from which all others developed. This formulation is acceptable, but it can hardly be considered a practical guideline for the textual critic in the manner in which it has been presented, for it is general to the point of being almost superfluous. Among other things, it refers to the choice of original readings as opposed to scribal errors, interpolations, deliberate alterations, and omissions. It also refers to unusual yet original

linguistic forms as opposed to corrected ones and, conversely, to linguistically correct forms as opposed to corrupt ones.

The upshot of this analysis, then, is that to a large extent textual evaluation cannot be bound by any fixed rules. It is an art in the full sense of the word, a faculty that can be developed, guided by intuition based on wide experience. It is the art of defining the problems and finding arguments for and against the originality of readings. The formulation and weighing of these arguments are central to textual criticism. Often scholars offer arguments that cannot be compared at all, such as the style of a given literary unit, its language, the morphology of biblical Hebrew, and the logical or smooth flow of a given text. Within this subjective evaluation, there is room for more than one view. The view that presents the most convincing arguments is probably the best. However, many arguments have differing impacts on scholars and often no decision is possible, such as, for example, between synonymous readings, between long and short texts, or between two equally good readings in the context. These difficulties do not render the textual evaluation procedure questionable, for such is the nature of the undertaking.

Therefore, it is the choice of the most contextually appropriate reading that is the main task of the textual critic. This procedure is as subjective as can be. Common sense, rather than textual theories, is the main guide, although abstract rules are sometimes also helpful. In modern times, scholars are often reluctant to admit the subjective nature of textual evaluation, and, as a consequence, an attempt is often made, consciously or unconsciously, to create an artificial level of objectivity by the frequent application of abstract rules.

The practical result of the evaluation procedure described in this chapter is that opinions are expressed on readings compared with MT. Most scholars speak in terms of preferable, better, or original readings, while some try to identify the reading from which the others presumably derived. With the aid of this procedure, scholars create tools for exegesis referring to presumably original readings as well as readings that developed subsequently. Both types of readings have a bearing on the exegetical procedure.

## EXCURSUS

### THE EVALUATION OF RETROVERTED VARIANTS IN THE *BH* SERIES

The editors of the *BH* series not only mention retroverted variants; they also guide the reader on the evaluation of these variants, for example when suggesting that a reading of MT is to be preferred to a variant. However, more often they prefer a variant to MT (this preference is expressed in various gradations, such as “read” [“I” = “lege”], “read probably”, etc.). In the past there has been a great deal of criticism of the evaluative system of the *BH* series, not only for its subjectivity, but also for the incautious retroversions from the ancient versions.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the editors of *BHS* have made an effort to present the evidence more cautiously, and their approach is visible in the following two techniques:

(i) *BHS* refrains from only quoting the retroverted Hebrew variants without the versional evidence itself. In *BHS* the deviations from MT in the versions are recorded first in the language of the translation, then as the retroverted variants. This new system makes the reader aware of the difficulties involved, and among other things enables him or her to form a judgment on the deviation without necessarily accepting the solution (retroversion) of *BHS*. See, e.g., the different treatment of *BH* and *BHS* in the following instances:

Ps 4:3	כְּבֹדִי לְלִמָּה	<i>BH</i>	G	כְּבֹדִי לֵב לִמָּה
		<i>BHS</i>	G	βαρυκάριδοι = כְּבֹדִי לֵב

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6. The following reviews criticized the incautious retroversions of *BH* and *BHS*: J. Reider, “The Present State of Textual Criticism of the Old Testament”, *HUCA* 7 (1930), pp. 285–315; H.M. Orlinsky, *JSS* 4 (1959), pp. 149–151; id., “Textual Criticism”; Sperber, *Grammar*, 46–104 <detailed review of the system of the *BH* series>; Deist, *Text*, pp. 87–96; Allen, *Chronicles*; Barthélemy, *Études*, pp. 366–368; J.W. Wevers, “Text History and Text Criticism of the Septuagint”, *VT* 29 (1978), pp. 392–402; E. Tov, “Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia”, *Shnaton* 4 (1981), pp. 172–180 (Hebrew); id., *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 354–355.

Ps 10:8	יִהְרֹג	<i>BH</i>	G S Hie	לִיהְרֹג
		<i>BHS</i>	G (Hier)	ἀποκτείνειν = לִיהְרֹג
Ps 101:5	אֵתוֹ לֹא אוֹכֵל	<i>BH</i>	G S	אֵתוֹ לֹא אוֹכֵל
		<i>BHS</i>	G (S)	τούτω οὐ συνήσθιον
		=		אֵתוֹ לֹא אוֹכֵל

The notation of *BHS* is cautious only on a formal level, since the retro-versions themselves are often mechanical, and do not reflect the progress made in modern scholarship with regard to the evaluation of the ancient versions.

(ii) The editors of *BHS* have applied this caution also to retroverted variants which are preferred to MT. Accordingly, *BHS* does not contain such remarks as are found in *BH* “omit with the LXX”, but rather “LXX >, om (dl)”, or “om (dl), cf. LXX”, etc. For example:

Jer 13:12	אֵלֵיהֶם אֶת הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה	<i>BH</i>	l c G	אֵל הָעַם הַזֶּה
		<i>BHS</i>	G*	πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον
				l אֵל הָעַם הַזֶּה
Jer 23:17	לִמְנַאֲצֵי דְבָר	<i>BH</i>	l c G L (cf S)	לִמְנַאֲצֵי דְבָר
		<i>BHS</i>	G	τοῖς ἀπωθουμένοις τὸν λόγον, l צִי-דְבָר - cf S
Jer 37:1	(וַיִּמְלֹךְ) מֶלֶךְ	<i>BH</i>	dl c G (dittogr)	
		<i>BHS</i>	> G*, dl (dttg)	
Ezek 21:19	שְׁלִישָׁתָהּ	<i>BH</i>	l c V	שְׁלִישָׁה
		<i>BHS</i>	V ac triplicetur, l	שְׁלִישָׁה cf S
Prov 5:20	בְּנֵי	<i>BH</i>	dl frt c G m cs	
		<i>BHS</i>	> G, frt dl	

In other instances, the preferred variant is recorded first, followed by “cf LXX”, “cf S”, etc. In these cases the evidence has been blurred, because usually the ancient version forms the *basis* for the preferred reading, which is now presented without any clear support, as if it were an emendation. Note the different treatment of *BH* and *BHS* in the following verses:

Jer 23:33	אֶת־מַה־מִּשָּׂא	<i>BH</i>	l c G L V	אֶתֶם הַמִּי
		<i>BHS</i>	l	אֶתֶם הַמִּי cf G V (cf. p. 229)

Jer 36:18	אלי	<i>BH</i>	ins c G S	ירמיהו
		<i>BHS</i>	ins	ירמיהו cf G* S
Ezek 14:8	ולמשלים	<i>BH</i>	prb l c S V	לאות ולמשל
		<i>BHS</i>	l	ולמשל cf S V

The new system heralds a new and cautious approach, but in actual fact *BHS* blurs the data, because the uninitiated reader who is not conversant with the ancient languages is actually unable to distinguish between (retroverted) variants and emendations.

*BHQ* (volumes published in 2004–11) substantially improves upon *BHS* in the procedures described in this excursus, but several problems remain. This edition is richer in data and more judicious and cautious than its predecessors. Among its innovations: (1) The apparatus contains a rather full presentation of the textual evidence that is at variance with MT (codex L), presented in *BHQ* and *BHS* in Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin. While retroversions into Hebrew are thus reduced to a minimum, other types of retroversions are nevertheless found in the apparatus, since they are regarded differently in *BHQ* (etymological renderings and shorter texts). (2) *BHQ* presents reconstructed variants from the versions more cautiously than in *BH* and *BHS*, but stops short of making a direct link between a reconstructed reading preferred by that edition and the text of the version. The reconstruction (mentioned first) and the versional reading are linked by the reference “see”, which leaves room for much uncertainty and does not reflect the real relation between the two elements. For example, in the introductory “Figure 1” (p. LXXIII), *BHQ* notes:

Jer 23:17 MT למְנַאֲצֵי דְּבַר יְהוָה  
 <to men who despise me (they say:) ‘The LORD has said.’>  
 Θ τοῖς ἀπωθουμένοις τὸν λόγον κυρίου  
 <to those who despise the word of the LORD>  
 pref למְנַאֲצֵי דְּבַר יְהוָה see G (S)

In this and many similar situations, *BHQ* presents the preferred reading (“pref”) as a conjectural emendation, since the reference to Θ (phrased as “see”) does not explicitly state that the preferred reading is actually based on the LXX.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LXX TO THE LITERARY CRITICISM OF THE BIBLE

Textual criticism is involved with the study of textual witnesses and their transmission. However, an examination of these texts also leads to other disciplines, which principally include exegesis and literary criticism.<sup>1</sup> At the outset, it would appear that literary criticism is far removed from the topics usually treated by textual critics, but researchers pay an increasing amount of attention to this discipline because the textual witnesses preserve many relevant data.

Modern researchers pay attention to a category of evidence when claiming that not all differences between textual witnesses could have derived from the later copyists–scribes, but that some must have derived from the earlier authors/editors–scribes (for the distinction, see *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, p. 240). The later copyists–scribes created the small variants presented in chapter 5.A, while the earlier authors/editors–scribes created the sizable differences described in *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 283–326. The distinction between these two types of evidence is based on the assumption that copyists were not involved in large-scale content changes. This subjective reasoning leads to another hypothesis, namely that the details listed below were created at the final literary growth stage of the biblical books. In the past, these changes have often been described as scribal changes, glosses, and interpolations, but they are now pushed back one stage in the presumed history of the biblical books and manuscripts. They are described here as literary (editorial) variants, with the understanding that they attest to the existence of different stages in the literary development of the books. In some cases, these stages may be named editions, while in other cases the editorial intervention is more limited.

The parameters of the data listed below are as follows:

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1. Literary criticism is concerned with most of the essential questions pertaining to the biblical books (origin, date, structure, authorship, authenticity, and literary layers), including an analysis of presumed early stages in their development.

The assumption of the existence of literary (editorial) differences between textual witnesses such as exemplified in the list below is accompanied by an attempt to explain their existence. The correctness of this explanation is not a necessary part of the description of the data themselves. The different editorial formulations coexisted in ancient Israel because earlier formulations were not eradicated. Similar suggestions have been made for Akkadian compositions.

The recognition of literary (editorial) variants should be considered “modern” because it has developed much since the find of the Judean Desert scrolls, which contain a number of such variants. These finds aided scholars in identifying literary variants in the LXX, although the content of that translation had been known for a long time. The largest number of literary variants is included in the LXX, and an attempt is made on pp. 218–223 to understand that situation.

The evidence listed below presents a collection of passages, sections and books preserving glimpses from the last stage in the development of the books. At the risk of presenting circular reasoning, we note that some of the examples pertain to short/long versions in the LXX as opposed to long ones in MT (Joshua, 1 Samuel 16–18, Jeremiah, Ezekiel).

The data themselves, as well as an analysis of the textual–literary evaluation of this material is provided in *TCHB*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 283–326. That chapter deals not only with literary data included in the LXX, but also with other sources.

The following data are presented there:

1. Two Literary Strata of Jeremiah: 4QJer<sup>b,d</sup> Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 286
2. Two Literary Strata of Joshua: Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 294
3. Two Literary Strata of Ezekiel: Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 299
4. Different Literary Strata in 1 Samuel: ℳ+, Ⓞ\*, and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 301
5. Two Literary Editions of Proverbs: Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 304
6. Different Chronological Systems in Genesis 5, 8, 11: ℳ, Ⓞ, and Ⓞ\* 305
7. 1–2 Kings (3–4 Kingdoms) in Ⓞ\* 306
8. Sequence Differences between Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 309
10. Long and Short Texts of 1 Samuel 11: 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and ℳ+, Ⓞ 311
14. Different Literary Editions of Exodus 35–40: Ⓞ\* and ℳ+, Ⓞ 316
- 15a. Different Literary Editions of Esther: Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 317
- 15b. Different Literary Editions of Esther: Ⓞ<sup>A-Text</sup> and ℳ+ 318
16. Different Literary Editions of Daniel: Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 318
17. Ezra–Nehemiah: Ⓞ\* and ℳ+ 319
19. Different Literary Editions of 1–2 Chronicles in Ⓞ\* and ℳ+? 321

- 20. Different Literary Editions of Numbers in  $\mathfrak{G}^*$  and  $\mathfrak{M}^+$  322
- 21. Different Literary Editions of  $\mathfrak{w}$  and  $\mathfrak{M}^+$ ,  $\mathfrak{G}$  322
- 22. Different Literary Editions of Psalm 151:  $\mathfrak{G}$  and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 322
- 24. Minor Literary Differences 323

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# The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research

This handbook provides a practical guide for the student and scholar alike who wishes to use the Septuagint (LXX) in the text-critical analysis of the Hebrew Bible. It does not serve as another theoretical introduction to the LXX, but it provides all the practical background information needed for the integration of the LXX in biblical studies. The LXX, together with the Masoretic Text and several Qumran scrolls, remains the most significant source of information for the study of ancient Scripture, but it is written in Greek and many technical details need to be taken into consideration when using this tool. Therefore, a practical handbook such as this is needed for the integration of the Greek translation in the study of the Hebrew Bible.

*The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* is based on much background information, intuition and experience, clear thinking, and a solid description of the procedures followed. The author presents his handbook after half a century of study of the Septuagint, four decades of specialized teaching experience, and involvement in several research projects focusing on the relation between the Hebrew and Greek Bibles.

The first two editions of this handbook, published by Simor of Jerusalem (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3 [1981] and 8 [1997]), received much praise but have been out of print for a considerable period. This third edition presents a completely revised version of the previous editions based on the many developments that have taken place in the analysis of the Septuagint, the Hebrew Bible, and the Qumran Scrolls since the earlier editions appeared. Much new information has also been added.

Eisenbrauns has been involved in the marketing of the previous two editions and is proud to offer now its own completely new edition. A must for students of the Hebrew Bible, textual criticism, the Septuagint and the other ancient translations, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Jewish Hellenism.

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